# Daily Report

# Central Eurasia

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## Central Eurasia

*FBIS-SOV-93-151* 9 August 1993

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## Russian, Central Asian Leaders Hold Summit

### Ties Viewed

*MK0608131693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 1*

[Vitaliy Portnikov report under the "Geopolitics" rubric: "Russian-Turkestan Union May Be Formed Today At Russian-Central Asian Summit"]

[Text] **The Kremlin Has Finally Noticed Central Asia**

If we forget for a moment that the leaders of Russia and the Central Asian countries are gathering in Moscow to stop the escalation of civil war in Tajikistan, it can be acknowledged that we are witnessing a truly unprecedented event. Indeed, every cloud has a silver lining. Boris Yeltsin held separate meetings with the leaders of the Baltic countries, he met with the leaders of Ukraine and Belarus—and each time these meetings turned out to be historic—but he has not yet held separate meetings with the heads of the Central Asian states. Obviously, there were many collective gatherings after the meeting of the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus in Belovezhskaya Forest that led to the dismantlement of the USSR and creation of the CIS, but apart from Yeltsin and his Central Asian partners, they were invariably attended by Kravchuk, Snegur, Shushkevich, and Ter-Petrosyan, for whom Central Asia, judging from their countries' geographical position, holds much less interest than for Russia. As a matter of fact, leaders of the Central Asian countries have also met with each other more than once. But Yeltsin did not attend. Now, dispatching his special representative, Anatoliy Adamishin, to Central Asia, the Russian leader has effectively put forward a new concept of collective responsibility of Russia and local countries for stability in the region. What is effectively at issue is the creation of a new geopolitical union—this time without European republics of the former USSR, which are not particularly interested in such an association. It will be recalled that this is occurring literally a few weeks after the demarche of the prime ministers of the three Slavic states, who announced—almost like their heads of state in Belovezhskaya Forest—the creation of an economic union of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus; and also after sharply critical statements by some high-ranking Russian politicians accusing the Central Asian countries of desiring to set up their own economic union without Russia, but including Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. But the goings-on in Tajikistan have pushed Russia and the Central Asian countries toward each other.

**Nazarbayev As Guarantor of Russian Stability**

Kazakhstan's unexpected absence from the economic union of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus looks as inexplicable and conspicuous as this former union republic's nonparticipation in setting up the CIS. Yes, Kazakhstan is not the most immediate neighbor of Ukraine and Belarus. For Russia, however, it is not simply a country next door, but a guarantor of the secure existence (if not survival) of the Russian state. It is Kazakhstan with its half-Kazakh, half-non-Kazakh population that makes it possible for Moscow to feel itself to be part of Europe, by giving it a bridge into Asia; a Kazakhstan that turned into a sort of buffer between two different civilizations not only for Russia, but for the whole world. Kazakhstan's significance for Russia appears even greater when, looking at the map, you realize how narrow a strip of land separates this country from the predominantly Muslim republics of the Russian Urals. One can imagine the consequences of Almaty's switch from a favorable policy vis-a-vis Moscow to a confrontational one. This is why one cannot stop wondering how deep-seated the Kremlin's desire is not to pay heed to Nursultan Nazarbayev—not only an outstanding politician, but also a real "political gift" to the current Russian authorities. At a time when it is becoming increasingly evident that "an Islamic revolution" in Central Asia in one form or another is inevitable, Russia would be wise to hold onto Kazakhstan with both hands. This is its only chance not to bog down in Central Asia, but to remain a respected and welcome partner for the region's countries.

**Karimov Rethinks Viewpoints**

On the eve of the Moscow meeting, the Uzbekistan president has made a whole range of political statements on Tajikistan that could confound observers. The Uzbek president, who had actively supported the forces that defeated the current Tajik opposition, now calls on Dushanbe to start talks with opposition leaders. Evidently, Karimov does not need instability on the Tajik-Afghan border because it can at any moment turn into a factor for instability on Uzbekistan's borders with Afghanistan or even with Tajikistan. Besides, the Uzbek president is unlikely to be satisfied with the fact that all the key positions in Dushanbe have been seized by people from Kulyab and not those from Leninabad, who have traditionally oriented themselves toward Tashkent.

Taking part in the Tajik events, Islam Karimov has shown who can be the region's master. Now it is essential for him to add to this a reputation as Tajikistan's "pacifier." Sooner or later, the instability in Tajikistan may backfire against its neighbors. For Uzbekistan, for its fledgling statehood, the blow may prove fatal. This is why Islam Karimov has to come to grips with the most complex problem in his political biography. Not only will his political future depend on it, but also the future of the republic itself. Inclined to make pragmatic decisions, Islam Karimov is set to confound, and repeatedly so, those who are inclined to view him as a marginalized post-communist leader.

**Niyazov As Observer**

Turkmenistan intends to distance itself from the rest of the Central Asian countries trying to resolve the Tajik conflict jointly with Russia. President Saparmurad Niyazov said in advance that a Turkmen military contingent could not be sent to Tajikistan and that he would attend the Moscow summit as an observer. The very

concept of the society that Saparmurad Niyazov is building in Turkmenistan requires such a distance. There is no denying, however, that this viewpoint evokes understanding and approval among Turkmenistan's neighbors from among foreign countries that are "far" from Russia, but close to this country. Saparmurad Niyazov has more than once met with his regional neighbors without Yeltsin—and did not look like an observer at all. It is Niyazov, moreover, who can be seen as the initiator of the process of independent communication between heads of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia.

**Akayev At the Helm of a European Kyrgyzstan**

Kyrgyzstan tried to play the role of a peacekeeper in the civil war in Tajikistan until military units were sent there (which resulted in a conflict between the president and the parliament). Although Bishkek's political clout is not very strong, this gesture by Akayev (as well as some others, including the introduction of the Som) was designed to produce a favorable external effect—to demonstrate that Kyrgyzstan, being a CSCE member like the other Central Asian countries, is willing to play according to European rules. Perhaps it is precisely from the Kyrgyzstan president that Russia can expect support for its new concept of collective responsibility. This support may be brought to nil in the event of a lack of understanding between Russia and Kazakhstan, albeit in a veiled form.

**Rakhmonov As a Transitional Figure**

The current Tajik leadership's stubborn unwillingness to start talks with the opposition only emphasizes its provisional nature. Still, there is a big difference between the refusals to do so that are coming from Prime Minister Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, who is from Leninabad, and Kulyab-born Supreme Soviet Chairman Emomali Rakhmonov. The struggle for power is not over yet, and the Kulyab people, who have seized the commanding positions from the Leninabad group by force, are unlikely to feel secure. The Leninabad clique may obtain the highest posts even through compromise. For the Kulyab people, however, war means life and power. The leaders of Russia and the Central Asian countries are unlikely to persuade Rakhmonov. Anyway, decisions by the Moscow summit may help the current Tajik leadership in its castling process and open the way for a negotiating process.

**Stability Will Suit All**

Even a superficial analysis of the approaches taken by the Central Asian leaders shows that any durable union between these countries and Russia is thus far out of the question. The only thing that can actually unify the interests of Moscow, Almaty, Tashkent, Ashgabat, Bishkek, and, sometime in the future, Dushanbe is stability in a region where any heavy-handed movement is fraught with civil wars, massacres, bloodshed, and even the collapse of a state. This understanding alone could be a factor contributing toward a successful summit in Moscow.

## Summit Previewed

*PM0608153993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[Boris Vinogradov report: "Tajik Problem Under Discussion in Moscow"]

[Text] A meeting of the leaders of the Central Asian states and Russia is planned to be held in Moscow on Saturday 7 August. The question of the situation in Tajikistan is to be the main topic of discussion. A decision to convene the meeting was achieved the previous day in the course of the visit which A. Adamishin, the Russian president's special envoy and first deputy foreign minister, has been making to Dushanbe, Tashkent, Almaty, Bishkek, and Ashgabat.

As already reported, at earlier consultations all the heads of the Asian states had acknowledged the need for a peaceful settlement of the situation in Tajikistan. President N. Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan stated that it would be a mistake to oversimplify the whole package of problems linked with Tajikistan. Islamic fundamentalism, he pointed out, is making inroads not only in Central Asia but also in central Russia. If the CIS Collective Security Treaty was operating normally the Community would have peace-making forces, and problems like the Tajik problem would not arise.

The Tajik delegation includes representatives of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. News agencies note that there are political forces in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast advocating its secession from the Republic of Tajikistan. The fact that Badakshanis have been included in the delegation could be an example of a constructive Dushanbe approach to solving the problem of interregional relations.

It is planned that the Moscow summit will adopt a joint statement reflecting a common approach to the problems which exist.

## Leaders Arrive in Moscow for Talks

*LD0608145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1431 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Presidents Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan, Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan, Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan, and Imamali Rakhmanov, Tajik parliament chairman acting as a special envoy of the Tajik president, have arrived in Moscow to attend a meeting of the leaders of the Central Asian states, Kazakhstan and Russia.

The meeting, scheduled to open here on Saturday, is to discuss measures aiming to stabilize the situation in Tajikistan.

Participants in the meeting are expected to exchange views on possible ways of handling the conflict, its internal and external aspects. Specifically, they will discuss joint efforts to protect and defend Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan, and to render assistance to Tajik authorities in stabilizing the situation inside the republic.

TASS has learnt from well-informed sources that the gathering is also expected to tackle some problems of cooperation between Russia and Central Asian states, as well as bettering political and economic ties among CIS member-countries.

### Akayev Agrees With Outline for Settlement

*LD0608154293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1458 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Major ways to settle the Tajik crisis have been outlined in the Russian stand, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev told a news conference in Moscow's international press center today.

In his words, Bishkek fully agrees with the need for joint protection of the Tajik-Afghan border, the search for a political compromise and the return of Tajik refugees.

The Kyrgyz state head told ITAR-TASS his republic is ready to participate in solution to the Tajik problem as much as it can, including humanitarian aid and reconciliation of the warring sides.

He recalled the Kyrgyz battalion is protecting the border and expressed the readiness to enhance military presence of Kyrgyz border troops on Commonwealth frontiers. At the same time, he is strongly against the participation of Kyrgyz troops in military operations inside Tajikistan.

The president said clan-regional reasons now prevail in the Tajik conflict, in contrast to the previous religious and ideological ones. In his words, there will be no reconciliation in Tajikistan as long as the warring sides do not share the "portfolios".

He also expressed alarm over actions of government troops in Gorno-Badakhshan, which do not contribute to the settlement. In the president's opinion, the Tajik leadership cannot ignore the Russian stand on the need for a dialogue of the parties to the conflict.

Speaking of general Commonwealth problems, Akayev supported the idea to create an economic union within the framework of the whole Commonwealth. At the same time, he believes it is impossible to return to the single rouble space and it is necessary to use new forms of mutual payments.

The president hopes Kyrgyzstan will upgrade national economy within the next ten years and the country will be able to pay to western creditors. A major aim of Kyrgyz post-totalitarian society is to elaborate a new ideology and system of national values to include ideas of collectivism and solidarity adopted from the theory of socialism.

### Turkmenistan's Shikhmuradov on Conflict

*LD0608183093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Boris Shikhmuradov, the deputy prime minister of Turkmenistan, told an RIA correspondent after he arrived in Moscow that there is only one way to settle the problem of the Tajik-Afghan border: to normalize as soon as possible the situation in Tajikistan itself. In Moscow, he will attend a meeting of the heads of the states of Central Asia and Russia, which is devoted to this subject.

### Kyrgyz President Previews Talks

*LD0708100093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0545 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] On the occasion of the meeting today between the heads of state of Central Asia and Boris Yeltsin, our observer Yuliy Semenov asked Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev to give his forecast with regard to the possible results of the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Akayev] I pin all my hopes on the present meeting between the leaders of Central Asia and the Russian leadership. We have come here with a sense of responsibility that today, together with Russia, we all should implement the plan of further actions to settle the conflict in Tajikistan proposed by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, and the Russian Government. We pin all our hopes on this.

I am particularly glad that the new plan proposed by Russia, along with the solid protection of the Tajik-Afghan border against the infiltration of destructive elements from the Afghan side, emphasizes the fact that the central government should actively look for a political reconciliation with the opposition forces inside Tajikistan. I think this may secure peace and accord in Tajikistan in the very near future, perhaps even in 1993, and serve as a good example of cooperation and solidarity between the CIS countries in resolving local and regional conflicts.

I think that, had the CIS countries demonstrated a necessary activity last year a compromise solution, a political compromise, could have been found between the leaders of the confronting sides. It is more difficult to do this now. Nevertheless, I think it is realistic.

[Semenov] Today's meeting has a formula—5-1—as they say. Perhaps this can be regarded as a step in the formation of new relations between Russia and the

Central Asian states? Do you agree with this, and what role can Russia play in the relations with your region?

[Akayev] I entirely support a resolute turn by the Russian leadership at present toward the problems in Central Asia and toward ensuring stability and peace in the Central Asian region. I think Russia has enormous interests in our region; the most important thing is that the interests of the republics of Central Asia are also closely linked with the interests of Russia. The countries of Central Asia have always been attracted toward Russia. They have always believed that progress in their countries is possible only in union with Russia.

Therefore, I cannot understand it when parallels are drawn between Tajikistan and Afghanistan, and it is on this basis that Russia's policy in Afghanistan and Tajikistan is assessed. I think the situation in Afghanistan in the past and the present situation in Tajikistan are diametrically opposite. Indeed, I agree, the Soviet Union has few geostrategic and geopolitical interests in Afghanistan. But Russian interests in Tajikistan are obvious. Still now, after a major migration, about 350,000 Russians live in Tajikistan. What if the fire spreads to the neighboring CIS countries? Together, and through active efforts, with the accent on a political settlement inside the country, we should help Tajikistan, a CIS member who signed the Collective Security Treaty. When one of the Commonwealth countries is in trouble, all of us should demonstrate solidarity and help to remove the problem. Otherwise it will cost too much later. [end recording]

## Yeltsin Opens Conference

*LD0708091793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0830 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug—"The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border required an urgent discussion of this question and extraordinary joint actions," Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin said, opening the meeting between the Central Asian states and Russia that has started here today. "Protection of the Tajik-Afghan border is protection of the general CIS border. Russia expects more support in this respect from the countries of this region," he continued.

Yeltsin called upon the heads of state to closely cooperate on an equal basis to ensure security of the CIS. The president of Russia stressed that this cooperation will determine the character and scale of the retaliatory measures. "The military measures would not be our choice," he said, "but it is difficult to avoid them in our situation."

However, specific steps are also needed in this crisis. The Russian president emphasized that "there is a general consensus; the situation inside Tajikistan is closely linked with what is happening on its external border." He called on the leaders of Tajikistan to conduct a direct dialogue with all sections of the opposition "without a selective approach". "This is dictated for us also by our security," Yeltsin added. He called on Tajikistan's leadership not to aggravate the already complex situation in Gorno-Badakhshan.

"Measures of reconciliation, not suppression, are needed," the Russian president said. He also called for negotiations to be opened on this heated regional problem with other states of the region and, in particular, with the leaders of Afghanistan.

Yeltsin proposed that the foreign ministers of the Central Asian states collectively appeal to the UN secretary general on this issue and that a multilateral document finally be signed on peace and cooperation in Central Asia. "Russia is ready for specific steps to achieve a peaceful solution to the problem in this trouble spot," Yeltsin said.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev delivered a report at the meeting after the Russian president had spoken.

The meeting is taking place behind closed doors. Journalists have learned that it is planned to sign a declaration at the meeting on the inviolability of borders and a statement on measures to normalize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

## 'Excerpt' of Yeltsin Speech on Crisis

*LD0808200193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 93*

["Excerpt" of speech given by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a joint meeting of the presidents of Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and the Supreme Soviet chairman of Tajikistan, at the Kremlin on 7 August—recorded]

[Text] On the agenda of the conference is the exceptionally serious and urgent issue of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and in Tajikistan itself. It is vitally important for all our states to neutralize the growing threat to security in Central Asia, and preserve stability in this region. Emergency joint actions are required. The Tajik-Afghan border is the external border of the CIS as a whole. Its protection is a matter of our common concern. This issue has already been discussed in the framework of the Commonwealth. Certain measures have been taken. We have got the Minsk Agreements of 22 January this year, as well as the commitments under the Collective Security Treaty of 15 May 1992. Russia counts on them being met in full.

The priority task is the dispatch to Tajikistan of additional contingents for the reinforcement of Russian border troops. So far, it has been these troops that were bearing the main brunt of protecting the Tajik-Afghan border. Concrete action is urgently needed here.

Our states have signed a declaration on the inviolability of the borders, thereby reaffirming their readiness to cooperate closely and on an equal footing, in ensuring the security of CIS borders. This document forms a sufficient legal basis for joint actions. It outlines quite clearly the nature and the scale of our retaliatory steps if the border is violated. They are totally in line with a state's right to self-defense. Military measures are not our own choice. They are but a response to a military attack, and forced upon us. It is difficult in the present situation to avoid them. This is the grim logic of hostilities. But it is clear that by military measures alone we will not be able to reliably ensure the security of the Tajik-Afghan border.

Political steps are called for, aimed at eliminating the prime causes of the present situation. Otherwise tensions at the border will rise further. Sooner or later this will put us in a position when we will physically not be able to cover the entire length of the border.

I think we all realize that the situation at the border is closely linked with the internal political situation in Tajikistan itself. Unless conditions within the country stabilize, there will be no stability at the border. It is important to use the potential for national reconciliation to a full extent. It is vital that there should be a dialogue between the government and all the political and social forces in Tajikistan. Direct talks with the opposition is necessary, and there is no place for a selective approach to one's partners—our experience has taught us that. Any delay only contributes to further alienation between Tajikistanis, to the exacerbation of mutual dislike, claims, and grievances.

It is important not to aggravate the situation, which is quite difficult as it is, by ill-conceived steps involving the use of force, such as the actions of the Tajik Government troops in Gornyy Badakhshan. In order to get the national reconciliation process going, the Tajik leadership has to take real and practical measures, political, economic, and legislative. It will probably be necessary to reexamine the existing power structure to ensure an equitable representation in the structure of ethnic groups and clans from all the regions of the country. Certainly, the initiative here has to come from the Tajikistan leadership. I believe that the best way to reaffirm their legitimacy will be to take measures aimed at reconciliation, rather than suppression. I am sure that in this case the call to the world community to take an interested and responsible approach to the Tajik situation will be met with all round understanding and support.

Talks should be started without delay with Afghanistan authorities, as well as with other states in the region. Agreements to that effect have already been reached. They have been confirmed during the recent visits by my special representatives to your republics, to Kabul, and Tehran. It would be advisable to instruct our foreign ministers to send an appropriate collective address to the UN secretary general.

We have to begin working systematically to form a reliable system of stability in the Central Asian region. I believe we should think about making a joint initiative to prepare a multilateral political document on peace and stability in Central Asia. This initiative should certainly be well prepared, all the more so because apart from our states, others may well take part in this work, such as Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, etc.

I count on our common agreed approach being reflected in the final documents of today's meeting, all the more so because we should proceed without delay to the implementation of joint practical measures. For its part, Russia is prepared to take such steps.

You know that the operational management of the activities of Russia's "power" ministries [defense, security, and interior] has been entrusted, in view of the Tajik situation, to Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. The functions of the Russian president's special representative responsible for Tajikistan have been placed on Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. I think you too will appoint your plenipotentiary representatives to ensure close coordination and cooperation.

## Conference Ends; Four Documents Signed

*LD0708102493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1016 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Lyudmila Aleksandrova and Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—"The meeting in the Kremlin of the leaders of Central Asian states and Russia was good and very useful. It was held in the atmosphere of complete mutual understanding," Mikhail Kolesnikov, head of the general staff of the Russian Armed Forces, told ITAR-TASS after the conference came to a close. "All the documents submitted for signing were signed unanimously."

The conference discussed ways of settling the conflict situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. It was attended by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev, Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev, Uzbek President Islam Karimov and Chairman of the Tajik Parliament Imamali Rakhmonov, as well as Boris Shikhmuradov, deputy prime minister of Turkmenistan and personal representative of the Turkmen president, who took part in the conference as an observer, but did not sign any documents.

Four documents were signed at the conference: the declaration on the inviolability of borders, the statement on measures for normalising the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and the appeal to leaders of the CIS member states to discuss the creation of the economic alliance at the next summit meeting. Aside from it, foreign ministers of the states, which took part in the conference, signed an appeal to U.N. Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to take measures for settling the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

## 'Text' of Declaration on State Borders

*LD0708125693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1205 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—ITAR-TASS has received the text of the "Declaration on Inviolability of the State Borders". It says:

"The states which have signed this declaration, reaffirming their adherence to the UN Charter and the principles of the CSCE, as well as the basic documents of the Commonwealth of Independent States; stressing that the inviolability of the borders and territorial integrity of states are fundamental principles of international relations, and their observance presents the most important condition toward the preservation of international peace, security, and stability; recalling that the territory of a state is inviolable and cannot be an object of the use of force in violation of the UN Charter; expressing their concern in connection with incidents of serious violation of their borders by countries which are not members of the CIS; proceeding from the inalienable right of the states for individual and collective self-defense in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter, state the following:

1. Ensuring the inviolability of the borders of the states which have signed this declaration is seen by them as a sphere of joint vitally important interests, is their common cause, and is being implemented on a multilateral or bilateral basis.

2. The states signatory to this declaration will consider any encroachment on their borders to be unlawful actions, which give grounds for the adoption of retaliatory and commensurate measures, in accordance with international law, including the use of armed force, and in the form of individual or collecive self-defense. They will jointly avert and thwart any attempts at incursion from outside on the territory of any of the states signatory to this declaration.

3. The states signatory to this declaration will, on their territory, thwart the activities of individuals, groups, or organizations which are aimed at violating the inviolability of the borders of these states.

4. The states signatory to this declaration bear collective responsibility for the inviolability of their borders with third states. At the same time, none of the states signatory to this declaration bears any obligation to unilaterally ensure the security of the borders of another state.

5. The states signatory to this declaration reaffirm their readiness, by way of talks with the participation of all the interested parties, to seek ways to end and avert armed conflicts on the borders.

6. Internal stability within the states signatory to this declaration is a necessary condition of security on their borders. For this purpose each of them will take the necessary steps to strengthen democratic institutions and to achieve national consensus on the basis of respect for human rights and basic freedoms.

7. The states signatory to this declaration count on support and understanding of its articles on the part of neighboring states and the international community as a whole.

[Signed] For the Republic of Kazakhstan—N. Nazarbayev
For the Russian Federation—B. Yeltsin
For the Kyrgyz Republic—A. Akayev
For the Republic of Tajikistan—I. Rakhmanov
For the Republic of Uzbekistan—I. Karimov

## 'Text' of Declaration on Border Situation

*LD0708133193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1240 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—ITAR-TASS has received the text of the "Declaration on measures to normalize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border." It says:

"The heads of state of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, and the Republic of Uzbekistan held a Conference in Moscow on 7 August 1993, with the purpose of working out measures to normalize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

The participants in the Conference expressed their profound concern at the serious complication of the situation. Particular alarm is being caused by the actions of the combatants of the Tajik opposition and individual Afghan armed groups who are supporting them, and the systematic incursions onto the territory of Tajikistan, which are accompanied by great sacrifices among the peaceful population, border guards, and other servicemen.

The heads of state declare the following:

1. The Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, and the Republic of Uzbekistan, guided by the basic documents of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the bilateral agreement with the Republic of Tajikistan, view the Tajik-Afghan border as part of the common CIS border.

2 All urgent and necessary measures will be taken in order to ensure the security of the Tajik-Afghan border, and to this effect the contingent composed of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, which guards the border will be reinforced.

3. The Republic of Tajikistan will be given additonal military, economic, and humanitarian aid, as well as help to speed up the creation of national armed forces and border troops capable of protecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of their state themselves.

4 In case of a continuation of armed attacks from outside, corresponding retaliatory measures will be taken to stop them in accordance with the provisions of the CIS Collective Security Treaty, bilateral treaties with Tajikistan, as well as the right to individual and collective self-defense, envisaged by Article 51 of the UN Charter.

5. Primacy is once again given to the option of a political settlement. The states represented at the Conference think that a political settlement is a real possibility and are prepared to take an active part in it.

6. The intention of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan to use up all the existing potential of political means with the purpose of advancing the peace process, and of establishing a dialogue with political forces of different orientation in order to achieve civil and national accord, and to create conditions for the country's democratic development, are fully supported.

7. The readiness to build good-neighborly relations and cooperation with Afghanistan in the interests of peace and stability in the region is confirmed. At the same time, the Afghan side is expected to take immediate measures to prevent Afghan territory from being used as a ground for hostilities against neighboring states, and to safeguard against interference in their domestic affairs.

The participants in the conference appeal to the world community to support the efforts to normalize the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and to achieve a political settlement in Tajikistan. They also hope that all the countries of the region will contribute to the peace process, including efforts to urge the armed Tajik opposition to end the bloodshed, and to begin a constructive dialogue. They are open to interaction with these countries and ready to send their special representatives for talks on ways to accelerate a peace settlement.

The heads of the five states are counting on support for their efforts from the United Nations and the CSCE, including sending UN observers to the Tajik-Afghan border, and rendering humanitarian and technical assistance to Tajikistan.

The participants in the conference call upon the other member-states of the CIS to assist Tajikistan in eliminating the aftermath of the conflict.

[Signed] President of the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev

President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin

President of the Kyrgyz Republic A. Akayev

Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan I. Rakhmanov

President of the Republic of Uzbekistan I. Karimov

## Appeal to CIS for Talks on Economic Union

*LD0708125793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1248 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The presidents of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan adopted the following statement on Saturday.

"The heads of state of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan at their meeting on August 7, 1993 discussed a variety of questions concerning the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the whole and decided to appeal to all heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States with a proposal to hold in Moscow on September 7, 1993 a meeting to discuss the implementation of the decision of the heads of state of the CIS of May 14, 1993 on measures to establish an economic union of the Commonwealth.

[Signed] "For the Republic of Kazakhstan—N. Nazarbayev
"For the Republic of Kyrgyzstan—A. Akayev
"For the Russian Federation—B. Yeltsin
"For the Republic of Tajikistan—I. Rakhmonov
"For the Republic of Uzbekistan—I. Karimov."

## Appeal on Border to UN Secretary General

*LD0708150093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1402 GMT 7 Aug 93*

["Official"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug [ITAR-TASS]—ITAR-TASS has received an appeal by the foreign ministers of the states of Central Asia and Russia to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali. It says:

"Esteemed secretary general,

"Our appeal to you has been caused by the serious aggravation of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border. Things are going so far as large-scale offensives into the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan, a sovereign state, which is a member of the United Nations Organization. Recently purposeful military actions aimed at a breakthrough of the border and on inciting the armed conflict in Tajikistan were launched from the territory of Afghanistan. As a result of shelling and attacks by militants of the Tajik opposition, and separate Afghan armed groups which are supporting them, the number of casualties among the peaceful population is growing, and our soldiers who take part in protecting the state border of Tajikistan are being killed.

"Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan have signed the Treaty on Collective Security within the CIS. Under this treaty, and exercising the right to individual and collective self-defense under

Article 51 of the UN Charter, we have made the decision to give Tajikistan urgent, additional assistance, including military help.

"Our choice is not the methods of force, but the quest for a political settlement. We are convinced that the opportunities for this exist. We hope that a responsible approach will prevail in Afghanistan, and that effective steps will be taken there to prevent armed incursions onto the territory of Tajikistan.

"Esteemed Mr. Secretary General,

"We are open to a broad and constructive dialogue with Afghanistan, other states in the region, and all interested parties. We press you to assist our efforts in this direction. Taking into account the fact that peace and security in the region have been threatened, we ask the UN Security Council to urgently examine the crucial situation on the Tajik-Afghan border which has taken shape, and to adopt measures to insure its inviolability, including the possibility of sending UN observers there.

[Signed] "Foreign Minister of Kazakhstan T. Suleymenov
"Foreign Minister of the Republic of Ta[illegible] R. Alimov
"Foreign Minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan E. Karabayev
"Foreign minister of the Republic of Uzbekistan S. Safayev
"Foriegn Minister of the Russian Federation A. Kozyrev"

## Officials on Results of Russian-Central Asian Talks

### Karimov Comments

*LD0708141993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1312 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug—The participants in the conference of heads of states of Central Asia and Russia have arrived at the common view that the military method of resolving the conflict situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is a dead-end one. This was stated by Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov in a conversation with journalists upon the completion of the conference.

We are in favor of tackling this matter by political means, he added, but this does not mean that we will give anyone the opportunity to use extremism as an opportunity to seize power.

Islam Karimov described the situation in Tajikistan as "the advance of fundamentalist and extremist forces who, by this action, have attempted to carry out a coup d'etat." He noted that in fact these forces have tried to set a precedent of conquering power with the use of force. "They want to use Tajikistan as a ground for bringing about an explosion in the situation in Middle and Central Asia," [Srednyaya I Tsentralnaya Aziya] Islam Karimov stressed. According to the head of Uzbek state, the participants in the conference decided to call upon the leadership of Tajikistan to give primacy to political means of resolving the conflict. He also thinks that it would be wise if the Tajik leadership announced preparations for holding democratic elections in the republic. In this connection, Islam Karimov suggested that "the very process of preparations for these elections would play a consolidating role in the republic."

Islam Karimov expressed a supposition that quadripartite talks on the normalization of the Tajik situation, which were announced earlier, might start in the near future. "Links between the Tajik and the Afghan leadership have already been established," he said. "This gives reason to suggest that contacts at the political level might begin very soon".

### Nazarbayev Views Results

*LD0708134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1309 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The leaders of Russia, Kazakhstan and Central Asian Republics called on all CIS states to hold a summit meeting in Moscow on September 7 to sign documents establishing an economic union of CIS states.

Commenting on the results of the meeting, Kazakhstan's President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that Russia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan signed an agreement committing them to stay in the rouble zone. "This is what we need today. It is necessary to create a core and there is no need to force anyone into the Commonwealth," Nazarbayev said.

The Kazakh leader said the participants in the summit meeting also signed three documents on Tajikistan. Additionally, Russia and Kazakhstan issued a joint statement and instructed the ministers of defence and foreign affairs to work out within a month a document on military cooperation which would dot all "i's" and cross all "t's" in determining the future of the Baykonur space centre in Kazakhstan. "In this connection I suggested establishing an international company with the participation of Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan," Nazarbayev said.

### Nazarbayev Interviewed

*LD0808214393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Interview with Kazakhstan President Nurslutan Nazarbayev by unidentified correspondent on 7 August in Moscow; from the "Itogi" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Nazarbayev] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and I had a separate meeting yesterday. You know that yesterday we signed a statement on priorities in relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, and we talked about all the questions of finding a single monetary system, a credit system, and a single defense sphere. We gave instructions to the defense and foreign ministers to draw up a treaty on military cooperation, to finally resolve nuclear weaponry issues, and to resolve the use of the cosmodrome for common purposes and tasks and to not let the cosmodrome disappear. I proposed the creation, with regard to the cosmodrome, of an international company with the participation of Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. And we, the heads of the three states, could, while these documents are being prepared, meet at Baykonur and create such an international company that would be open to foreign investors and would give new life to the cosmodrome.

[Correspondent] When is this meeting planned?

[Nazarbayev] We have given ourselves a month for the preparation of these documents to resolve this.

[Corresondent] Three leaders signed documents on the ruble zone this morning. Tell me, why only three?

[Nazarbayev] I think that the ones who want to remain in the ruble zone signed it. Before this, I had met President Karimov in Almaty, where we discussed this issue. Although the agreement on an interstate bank allows every state to have its own currency while at the same time coordinating all actions, both Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan stated that they will not introduce their own currencies but will remain in the ruble zone. I may be criticized at home for being under the influence of Russia and so on, but you see, that is politics, and life dictates something else. If today 65-70 percent of goods produced in Kazakhstan go to Russia, and approximately the same comes from Russia, then why should we stress our economy even more and create even more barriers for our producers? I am convinced, and I think that many support me, that there is no point in us separating. I do not want to hand down to my children and grandchildren any poorly thought-out misunderstandings between Russia and Kazakhstan, between Russians and Kazakhs. Because this is a strategic question, it is not a question of Nazarbayev or Yeltsin or Karimov or anyone else. It is a question of the future, a question of strategy—who to be with. Now is a time of great decisions, because every state has to sober-up. They are trying to unite in West Europe. I have had to say this many times, and I do not want to repeat it: They are trying to create a common government, remove barriers, create a customs area, and arrive at a single currency. Who needs our goods today? There is no place for our goods in Europe. Everything produced by Ukraine or, for instance, by Rosselmash [Rostov machinebuilding works for agriculture], or the Altay tractor works, a consumer of Kazakhstan's commodities—Ukrainian and Russian goods are needed on the domestic market. Kazakhstan, too, can only sell goods in that area. The entire world is fighting for trading space, for markets, and we close this market to ourselves and open it to other people.

[Correspondent] Nursultan Abishevich, could you please tell me, did the idea of holding this meeting come from Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin or from the heads of Central Asian republics?

[Nazarbayev] Boris Nikolayevich telephoned me and asked me to talk to all leaders of the Central Asian states and find out their attitude to a meeting in Dushanbe or in Almaty—he even mentioned Barnaul and Orenburg—since the situation was becoming increasingly aggravated after the attack on the 12th border post, which resulted in deaths. I phoned all those states, and then Boris Nikolayevich and we discussed it together. I said it would be more convenient for us all to assemble in Moscow and discuss the issue. The very fact that we can arrange a meeting and get together in situations like this seems to me very important, because the situation is not an ordinary one—the common border of the Commonwealth is being attacked. We have signed a document to the effect that we share the same border. We have signed a document to the effect that each state will regard an attack on any other state as an attack on itself, an aggression against itself.

Therefore, the initiative belonged to the Russian president. And I think it was done at the right moment and we did the right thing to assemble today and adopt these three documents—I mean the declaration of the inviolability of borders. Then we adopted a statement on the situation in Tajikistan, clearly pointing out that the Tajikistan Government should first strengthen its troops, its border troops, and that we should simply help them without getting involved in their internal affairs, in the war, and so on. That was the first point. Second, we made understood to the Tajik opposition that we are in favor of the government and the opposition starting talks. So I think it was the only correct political move possible. And third, we called upon the heads of state of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia to take part in the settlement of this process. We also appealed to the United Nations to discuss the situation in Tajikistan at the next session and to arrange for U.S. observers to be present here.

[Correspondent] Criticisms will certainly be voiced by the opposition in Kazakhstan, here in Russia, and in Uzbekistan saying that again the border is being patched up by the Russians, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks. Other republics do not want to send their troops there. What is your attitude to this?

[Nazarbayev] I believe that if each waits for its own to be set alight, so to speak, that would be the worst policy to have now. Once again, things should be done on a voluntary basis. There will be criticism, but if the opposition in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Russia, and elsewhere starts saying that Russian, Kazakh, Uzbek, and Kyrgyz men have no place there, it will be highly mistaken,

because this is our common border and what is happening is a test of the CIS's stability on one of its flanks. There are forces that wish to launch a new war and establish a regime in Tajikistan that suits those who lean toward an extremist Islamic stance, and if they succeed in doing this in Tajikistan, they might think about doing the same in other neighboring states. And for this reason, I do not believe that Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, or, incidentally, Turkmenistan, not to mention Tajikistan, can avoid this issue.

At every CIS session I have said that the Collective Security Council should begin to operate fully. Thank goodness the Russian parliament finally ratified it last week. Our parliament ratified it much earlier, immediately after its adoption last year. And it has also been ratified, I believe, by the parliaments or Uzbekistan and Armenia. In it we voiced the idea that the Collective Security Council should have peacemaking forces. And this really should be done. The fact that we do not yet have a real economic union and coordinating bodies, the fact that we have not yet devised a mechanism for implementing the signed treaty on a banking union, and the fact that the treaty on a Collective Defense Council, which we signed and ratified, is not functioning are all the result of the fact that economies are suffering and people are suffering. If the slump in production is approximately 30 percent including in Russia, then today, all economists have proved that 60 percent of that—that is, 18 percent of that 30 percent—is the result of the severing of economic ties. Who needs that?

I have presented a proposal, a draft on the creation of coalition armed forces on the basis of the Treaty on Collective Security. The ministers of defense have taken it away for several days to revise it. To overcome the problem of Russia alone being seen waging war anywhere and everywhere, and because this is a common task we should create forces among us like the blue helmets. They would not take part in combat action but would be guarantors of stability, guarantors of a negotiation process between governments and opposition, so that they would have no worries.

And a council of collective security must have coalition armed forces, which would consist of armed units from all participating states and which will be equipped and provided with weapons and uniforms and so on by each of these states. This is not the 201st Division [Russian division in Tajikistan] but other coalition forces that can be under one command and arrive in instances when it is necessary.

[Correspondent] Do you look into the future with optimism?

[Nazarbayev] For Kazakhstan?

[Correspondent] Yes.

[Nazarbayev] You know, optimism is not the right word here. It is simply necessary to adopt practical measures.

## Nazarbayev on Need for Economic Union

*LD0808104893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By correspondent L. Panova, including recorded remarks by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev at news conference in Moscow; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev held a news conference today at the Kazakh Embassy in Moscow. He said that for Kazakhstan, Russia is a foreign policy priority. Our two states will do all they can to sign documents on setting up an economic union, a single customs and currency and credit zone, and also a treaty on military cooperation and a single defense zone.

One result of yesterday's meeting of the five heads of state in Moscow, Nursultan Nazarbayev said, is an appeal to all CIS heads of states to gather on 7 September and sign an agreement on economic union, setting up coordinating bodies, and a proper interbank union. Kazakhstan, he stressed, is interested in staying within the ruble zone.

[Nazarbayev] For the past four years I have never tired of repeating my opinion, and I have not deviated from it to either right or left: that without economic union and without helping each other, we will face hard times. It is a shame that we in the CIS have yet to learn how to do things as they do in the European Community. We have to study this, and the CIS should have a center that is proposing completely new approaches, based on economics and horizontal links, on how to bring this zone together.

## Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan Agree on Ruble-Based System

*LD0708093793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0918 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug—Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan have decided to set set up a monetary system with Russia based on the ruble. This is said in a statement adopted today at the meeting of the heads of these three states. It is envisaged that special talks will be held within two weeks to examine the fundamental and technical issues connected with this.

## Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan Statement on Bank Notes

*LD0708111193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1101 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—The leaders of the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, who met in the Kremlin today, adopted a joint statement in connection with the withdrawal from circulation on the

territory of Russia of the banknotes, issued by the USSR State Bank and the Bank of Russia between 1961 and 1992.

Follows the text of the statement, circulated by the press service of the Russian president:

"The heads of state of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan held active consultations on August 6, 1993, and discussed thoroughly the situation that formed after the withdrawal from circulation of the banknotes, issued by the USSR State Bank and the Bank of Russia between 1962 and 1992. They find it necessary to state the following:

The termination of the use on the territory of the Russian Federation of the banknotes, issued by USSR State Bank and the Bank of Russia between 1962 and 1992, is a logical step to end the work, started in June 1992, for protecting the monetary system of the Russian Federation.

Reiterating the allegiance to the interstate agreements on coordination of actions in the sphere of monetary-crediting policy reached before, taking into account the high degree of mutual dependence of national economies, realising the objective necessity for preserving and developing common economic space based on the free movement of goods, services, workforce and capital, and considering the traditional use of the rouble as a common currency unit in transactions between states, as well as taking into consideration the resolve of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan to create a common monetary system with the Russian Federation, based on the use of the rouble—the currency of the Russian Federation, as well as the agreement in principle of the Russian Federation to create in the near future a common monetary system with them,

The heads of state of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan will assign to the governments and central banks of the Russian Federation, the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan:

To hold special talks within two weeks and to discuss there principled and technical matters dealing with the creation of the collective monetary system, based on the use of the rouble—currency of the Russian Federation, and sign the agreement on measures for creating a rouble zone of a new type, which will ensure the effective functioning of the common monetary system, which will be subject to ratification by parliaments of all the three countries. The above mentioned rouble zone will be created on the basis of the resolution of the Council of CIS Heads of State, dated May 14, 1993, on the creation of the economic alliance, with due account for the fact that other countries, which express readiness to assume corresponding obligations, may join the agreement."

## Trade Union Grievances Could Halt Scrapping Weapons

*PM0608161793 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 1*

[ITAR-TASS report from the "Brief and To the Point" column: "Russian Defense Sector Goes on to the Offensive"]

[Text] As of today supplies of spare parts and components for combat equipment, the servicing of military facilities, and the scrapping of armaments as part of international treaties could stop in Russia, Sergey Shuklin, cochairman of the Coordinating Council of the International Trade Union Association of Defense Sector Workers of CIS Countries, informed ITAR-TASS. "The planned action by Russians, supported by defense sector workers in other Commonwealth countries, is a response to the reluctance of the structures of power to really address our problems."

## Arms Trade 'Real Business' on Soviet Territory

*LD0608174293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The arms trade is a real business on the territory of the former Soviet Union. Today it would seem that this trade knows no boundaries.

In rural rayons of Orenburg oblast, those working for the Internal Affairs Directorate for the fight against organized crime have confiscated 40 hand grenades, a light machine gun with its full load of ammunition, pistols, sawn-off shotguns, and hunting rifles with ammunition. All this has come from Azerbaijan and for the most part, it was brought in by gypsies living in Orenburg oblast.

[Begin G.N. Strepkov, head of the directorate for the fight against organized crime, recording] For the most part, these are combat weapons that work properly. Our Orenburg oblast is now a border region of Russia, and everything possible must be done to ensure that the weapons now being used in the republics of Transcaucasia do not find their way into the center of the Russia to be used for the same ends. [end recording]

The buyers and sellers of the weapons have been arrested and criminal proceedings have been instituted.

## ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 7 Aug

*LD0708053393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0454 GMT 7 Aug 93*

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 7 ITAR-TASS—ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI carries the text of the report, made by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at the expanded meeting of the Council of Ministers on August 6, chaired

by president Yeltsin. The material is entitled "Economic Measures of Government—A Platform for National Accord." "The government believes that in the current situation there is only one way for ensuring optimal political conditions for the continuation of the reform, namely, the completing of the work started by the Constitutional Conference. The first thing we need is to get a clear idea of what is going on in our own country and to set things in order there," Chernomyrdin said.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA also carries an article on this subject, quoting the "Working Programme of the Council of Ministers—Government of the Russian Federation for 1993-1995: The Development of the Reform and the Stabilisation of the Russian Economy." The programme is divided into three stages: before the end of 1993, before 1995 and the third stage after 1996, when, according to the authors of the programme, the economic uprising begins.

"People realise that the country is tired of political anarchy and political muddle. One should like very much to believe that the government also realises it," PRAVDA writes.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA highlights the report, made at the meeting by President Mintimer Shaymiyev of Tatarstan. "The government is making one mistake after another, and we are taking the consequences," Shaymiyev said.

TRUD publishes an article entitled "How Does the President Look?", which refutes rumours circulating in Moscow about the alleged worsening of President Yeltsin's Health. "All those rumours would be impossible if our president, following the example of American president, made a point of regularly appearing in public, especially in cases when the domestic situation urgently calls for his response, his explanations and compassion." TRUD has in mind Yeltsin's appearances on TV, for which he has more than enough reasons, the newspaper believes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA carries a statement of the Information and Press Department of the Russian Defence Ministry, which deals with the developments in Tajikistan. It says that "Russia and Tajikistan are both signatories to the treaty on collective security, which provides for the assistance, including military one, to any member state, if it falls victim to an aggression."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA writes about the case of Dmitriy Yakubovskiy, nicknamed "the Beard", who is involved in a number of scandalous affairs on a very high level. According to the information of several sources, each of whom refuses to confirm it officially, Yakubovskiy has been living abroad for a long time, either in Switzerland, or in Canada. From time to time he makes telephone calls to Moscow from there and sends his best regards to high-ranking friends and their relatives.

PRAVDA publishes an interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs. He described the results of the reform, now under way, as the end of the economic "blitzkrieg", and the theory on which it is based—as "social Darwinism". Volskiy really thinks that way. In his opinion, "the wording may be different, by the economic 'blitzkrieg' is impermissible for an unusual country like Russia."

## Foreign Ministry Spokesman Karasin Holds Briefing

### Affirms Stance After Talks With Iraq

*LD0608155593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1512 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—The Russo-Iraqi talks between representatives of the Foreign Ministries of the two countries "in no way mean Russia's departure from the agreed line of the world community in respect of Iraq," Grigoriy Karasin, Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, told a briefing here today.

The gist of the matter is that because of the suspension of trade and economic partnership, there are many unsolved problems in Russo-Iraqi relations, first of all dealing with paying off credits earlier granted to Iraq, Grigoriy Karasin explained.

"Our firm position is that Iraq should fulfil the whole package of the U.N. Security Council resolutions on the post-crisis settlement," the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman stressed.

"Any practical steps towards the restoration of trade and economic ties with this country are possible only after easing or cancelling the established regime of international sanctions," Grigory Karasin pointed out.

### Denies Resuming Ties With Iraq

*LD0608191693 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1500 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] A brief news conference on pressing issues related to international policy was held today at the Russian Foreign Ministry. Grigoriy Karasin, chief of the Foreign Ministry's information department, spoke at the news conference. He dealt with some issues related to latest developments in the Middle East.

Karasin briefed the Russian and foreign journalists about the tour of the region by Viktor Posuvalyuk, head of the Middle East department, who held talks with the leaders of Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the PLO. He indicated that this visit came within the framework of Russian diplomatic efforts aimed at moving the Arab-Israeli bilateral talks forward.

Grigoriy Karasin says the course of events brought changes in the tour from the beginning. Naturally, the Israeli military operations in Lebanon took up a large part of the talks. The Russian side formed the impression that Moscow's calm stance in these dramatic days pleased the Arab leaders in general, with some reservations.

The Russian diplomat went on to say: We have tried, within the context of the negotiations with our old Arab partners, to work to reduce the differences between the Arab delegations and the Israeli delegation to the peace talks.

Grigoriy Karasin pointed out that the negotiations are useful and have come at the right time, and that this opinion is shared by the Arab capitals.

Karasin continued: Various items of news and comments have recently appeared in the Russian and foreign media about the Russian-Iraqi talks taking place in Baghdad at foreign economic relations ministry level. In this regard, the Russian Foreign Ministry would like to clarify the position in order to eliminate any possible false rumors.

The whole issue can be summarized by saying that the halting of the commercial partnership in the two countries' relations has raised a great many issues. It was with the aim of discussing these very issues, and in particular the question of Iraq's indebtedness, that a group of Russian specialists led by [name indistinct], Russian deputy minister for foreign economic relations, went to Baghdad. This step certainly does not mean that Russia has departed from the international community's course. Moscow is still firmly calling for Baghdad to comply with all UN Security Council resolutions. In addition, no tangible arrangements can be made about resuming relations with Iraq unless the international sanctions are relaxed or removed.

It should be recalled that the Iraqi side also confirmed this position about the present relations between the two countries.

### Welcomes Peace Agreement in Rwanda

*LD0608172093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1713 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Staroselskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Russia welcomes the signing of a peace agreement which ends the civil war in Rwanda, Grigoriy Karasin, spokesman for the Russian Foreign Ministry, told a briefing here on Friday [6 August].

He stressed that the agreement "marks a decisive step on the way to stopping the protracted conflict which unleashed dramatic inter-ethnic clashes, claimed many lives and destabilized the neighbouring countries".

In the end, the Russian foreign spokesman said, the victory was won by "political realism and common sense displayed by both sides in Rwanda".

Karasin laid a special emphasis on the peace-making potential of the African diplomacy, its capability of disentangling complicated conflict knots on the continent "by political methods rather than by the use of force".

The Foreign Ministry official believes that the main things to be done now are "to secure the unconditional and strict observance of the agreements, to do away with the fratricidal confrontation, to open up real vistas for Rwanda's economic revival and democratic advance".

Karasin assured that Russia will do its best "to further promote civil peace and national progress in Rwanda".

### Reinforcements Arriving at Tajik-Afghan Border

*LD0808193993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By correspondent A. Sladkov, including recorded remarks by A. Segulin, commander of the Russian Federation troops in Tajikistan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Nearly 70 percent of the comprehensive program to reinforce the Tajik-Afghan border has been implemented so far. Modern weapons and personnel are steadily arriving at guard posts, each of which now has mine throwers, armored personnel carriers, infantry fighting vehicles, and tanks of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division in its arsenals. A group of students and teachers of the Russian Federation Military Engineering Academy is in operation, as well as a subunit of volunteer military engineers who have experience of the Afghan war.

[Segulin] This will be a definite threshold of the security of the Russian armed contingent which is located here, and it means it is possible, to a certain degree, to close this border against any form of penetration, including aggressive penetration such as an armed incursion.

[Sladkov] The Kalai-Khumbskiy area in Gornyy Badakhshan is currently arousing particular concern. A group of officers from Moscow is working here under the direction of Major-General Anatoliy Parakhin, first deputy commander of Russia's border troops, determining the need to reinforce the border. However, the situation on the given part of the border will mainly depend upon the situation in Gorno-Badakhshan itself.

### Defense Ministry Issues Statement on Role

*LD0908090993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0740 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Grindneva]

[Text] Dushanbe, 9 Aug—Russian troops, represented in Tajikistan by the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, "have not interfered and are not interfering in the internal political affairs of sovereign Tajikistan and are not on the side of Tajikistan Government forces against the armed opposition in the Pamir foothills of this country." This is reported in a statement by the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's Directorate of Information and Press which was circulated today via its representative in Dushanbe in connection with reports by certain mass media on the alleged participation of Russian troops in military operations against Tajikistan's internal armed opposition.

The purpose of the Russian troops' presence, the statement says, is stipulated by the bilateral treaty between the Russian Federation and Tajikistan and is also reflected in the Treaty on Collective Security among CIS member states. Within the framework of the treaty, Russian servicemen help Russian border troops to strengthen the Tajik-Afghan border, to ensure the safety of humanitarian supplies to various regions of Tajikistan, and to guard the Republic's strategic facilities.

"Unfounded attempts to cast a slur on the peacekeeping role of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division simply play into the hands of destructive forces which are interested in prolonging the fratricidal war in Tajikistan," the document stresses.

### Yeltsin, Nazarbayev Issue Statement on Cooperation

*LD0608180493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1749 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—The press service of the Russian president circulated today the text of a statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev:

Follows the statement of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev:

The Russian and Kazakh presidents understand the need to increase comprehensive cooperation between the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan.

They are convinced the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the two states signed in May, 1992, laid down a solid basis for cooperation.

The presidents believe the imperative of reform progress in both states is close coordination of financial and credit-monetary policy, elaboration of a long-term agreement on economic cooperation and creation of bilateral institutes for its fulfilment.

The sides also called for accelerated formation of an economic union of the Commonwealth of Independent States and its coordinating bodies.

The Russian president supported the proposal of Nursultan Nazarbayev on preparations of a bilateral treaty on military cooperation with the aim of provision of joint defence with the framework of common military-strategic space.

It was noted together with treaty it is necessary to sign agreements on all aspects of military cooperation, including nuclear arms issues.

As for the Baykonur space launching grounds, the sides stressed the need for preserving it as a single one in the

interests of Russia, Kazakhstan and the whole Commonwealth of Independent States.

The presidents called for comprehensive account of interests of the Russian and Kazakh population in their states.

[Signed] President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin
President of the Republic of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev

### Protocol for Implementing Cease-Fire in Abkhazia Signed

*LD0608200393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Our correspondent has just reported that a protocol for implementing the cease-fire agreement in Abkhazia was signed today. At today's session, the plan for the withdrawal of armed formations from the conflict zone was approved. The sides agreed to submit by 8 August a map of the minefields and the facilties that have been mined. At the moment, it is difficult to say how the Georgian Government's resignation will influence the implementation of the agreement. But the sides have agreed that political events must not hinder the settlement of the conflict. A group of international observers from the United Nations and the CSCE is expected to arrive in Sochi tomorrow.

### Deliveries of Oil to Azerbaijan Halted Due to Debts

*LD0708152793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Russia has halted deliveries of oil to Azerbaijan. The decision to do this was caused by the fact that Azerbaijan currently owes nearly $10 million worth of goods in exchange for Russian oil.

In turn, production of these goods has been hampered by the absence of the required raw materials, because the two states have not agreed on their delivery from Russia.

### Commentary Views Ukraine's Nuclear Status

*PM0608134993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition pp 1, 2*

[Viktor Litovkin commentary: "While Moscow Protests, Ukraine Becomes the Possessor of Nuclear Weapons"]

[Text] ITAR-TASS has disseminated a Russian Government Statement containing a resolute protest on the subject of unilateral steps by the Ukrainian leadership which have, in practice, moved Kiev toward establishing full control over nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory. Among these steps the Russian Government lists a document adopted by Ukraine's parliament entitled "The Fundamental Areas of Ukrainian Foreign Policy" where the state proclaimed itself the proprietor of nuclear weapons, as well as an order from Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov (No. 050) "On the Status of 'S' Installations Stationed in Ukraine," and his decision to incorporate troops guarding and operating nuclear weapons in the the 43d Missile Army which is already under the command of the Ukrainian military.

The "S" installations which Colonel General Morozov mentions consist of nuclear-technical bases where warheads for strategic ICBM's and long-range cruise missiles for the Tu-95 and Tu-160 heavy bombers are kept, and where monitoring and scheduled inspection and maintenance work is carried out. It is known that there are around 1,240 of the former, and over 600 of the latter in Ukraine (which is somewhat more than England, France, and China together).

Admittedly, a proportion of the warheads are on the SS-19 and SS-24 strategic missiles on combat standby, while others are in storehouses, and the cruise missiles are at airfields where the strategic bombers are based.

The Ukrainian defense minister's order countermanded a directive by his Russian counterpart to disband nuclear technical units and placed their facilities wholly at his own disposal, including in the sphere of finance and rear services provision: It established new organizational-official structure for them, and prescribed a number of measures for preparing to receive for storage the first 60 warheads to be removed from the SS-19 missiles being withdrawn from Ukraine, namely from Khmelnitsok and Pervomaysk, Nikolayev Oblast (IZVESTIYA No. 132).

It is known that, while agreeing to dismantle these missiles not through any considerations of "goodwill" but primarily owing to their hazardous technical condition, Ukraine has retained for itself the nuclear warhead sections. The minister's order refers primarily to two nuclear bases located in the village of Makarovo near Kiev, and near Kirovograd, where these warheads will be placed.

The editorial team learned that these bases are now empty, the Russian officers have left, and the last echelon departed several days ago—there are just 11 men left, and they will hand over buildings, hardware, and other property without which the facilities cannot function to their Ukrainian colleagues, indeed to their own colleagues with whom they previously stood side by side.

Some Russian military leaders doubt that the Ukrainian generals and officers will be able to fully carry out all the necessary organizational-technical and technological measures connected with the normal operation of these facilities by dint of the state's lack of sufficient material and financial resources and experience of such work, and that this significantly increases the risk to their nuclear and ecological safety. But other experts in the sphere of

nuclear weapons with whom I managed to speak believe that despite the existence of such a risk, Ukraine and its experts are totally competent. Although, of course, it will require enormous economic efforts to make the nuclear weapons completely operational [v polnoy mere ekspluatirovat yadernoye oruzhiye].

Furthermore, despite Konstantin Morozov's statement that Ukraine is not conducting work to glean codes for nuclear warheads and that it is not retargeting the strategic missiles on its territory, they claim that in six months at most the Ukrainian leadership will know these codes, and that it goes without saying that there will be changes to the missile flight programs.

It is probable that it is just such confidence which allows the Russian leadership to assert that "Kiev's policy, which is causing concern in the world, entails truly serious consequences for international stability and safety, and for the entire system of international relations" and that "by declaring itself a possessor of nuclear weapons, Ukraine is violating international obligations undertaken by it in respect of its nuclear-free status and is thereby throwing down an open challenge to international law and order and sowing legal nihilism in international relations."

The statement asserts that this stance "does not accord with the obligations undertaken by Ukraine in respect of withdrawing nuclear weapons from its territory with the aim of dismantling and destroying them by the end of 1993."

To reiterate without the diplomatic jargon, the Russian Government's new statement proves: Russia is washing its hands of all responsibility for the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory, and that Kiev is not only de jure but de facto becoming the possessor of the most terrible weapons of mass destruction, unceremoniously breaching the international-legal procedure for their nonproliferation.

### Ukraine's Attitude Termed 'Destabilizing'

*LD0608215693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Commentary by Vladislav Kozyakov]

[Text] More signs have appeared that Ukraine's attitude to nuclear weapons on its territory is becoming a destabilizing factor in international relations. Vladislav Kozyakov has written the following:

On 2 July the Ukrainian Parliament declared nuclear weapons of the former Soviet Union deployed on its territory the republic's property. Then the Ukrainian Defense Ministry took a decision to include troops that guard nuclear arsenals into its 43rd Army. So Ukraine has established direct control of nuclear weapons, namely 176 long-range missiles and 37 strategic bombers. And all of these weapons continue to be targeted at the United States. Moscow is deeply concerned about the move of Ukraine. The statement of the Russian Government published this week says that Ukraine's policy has endangered international stability and security.

A carefree attitude to the international commitments that Ukraine took as an independent state is also alarming. It has notably violated the Lisbon protocols to the START I Treaty. In keeping with the protocol, Ukraine agreed to join the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty as a nonnuclear state. It also violated the commitment on a withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from its territory for its [as heard] liquidation by the year 1994. It has disregarded the commitment to ratify the START I Treaty. In addition, Ukraine alleges at present that CC-24 [possibly SS-24] missiles deployed on its territory are not liable for destruction under the START I Treaty and require a special agreement. Yet in May last year the Ukrainian president, in the letter to the then U.S. President George Bush, promised to liquidate all nuclear weapons in the republic.

Kiev seems to be aware that its inconsistent policy runs counter to the wish of the international community to prevent an expansion of the Nuclear Club, hence its unexpected decision to dismantle two CC-19 [SS-19] missiles that was timed to coincide with the recent trip of Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov to the United States. But this has actually changed nothing. The decision helped Ukrainian leaders to get some money from the Americans for dismantling missiles, but it proved unable to remove the other party's apprehensions about Ukraine's loyalty to its commitments in respect to nuclear weapons.

Proof of this is the statement of U.S. Defense Secretary Les Aspin, which he made during a signing ceremony of the Ukrainian-American military agreement. He said nuclear weapons in Ukraine remain a key problem and Ukraine had commitment in respect to these weapons under the START I Treaty and the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. All the countries, including Ukraine, wish to consolidate security in the world. Kiev, for one, can contribute to this end by observing commitments with respect to nuclear weapons and by respecting international agreements.

### Ukrainian Nuclear Threat Viewed

*MK0608123693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 40, 6 Aug 93 (signed to press 5 Aug) p 5*

[Pavel Felgengauer commentary under "Neighbors" rubric: "Ukrainian Missiles Will Not Be Moved to Russia. They Can Fly There Themselves"]

[Excerpts] The exchange of nuclear accusations between Russia and Ukraine continues. The 4 August statement by the Russian Government asserts that Kiev's actions to establish control of the nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory "are leading to fairly serious consequences for international stability and security, for the entire system

of international relations." Ukraine is apparently going to keep indefinitely part of its nuclear potential—modern solid-fuel SS-24 missiles (46 total, each having up to 10 warheads with a capacity of up to 550 kilotonnes). According to Kiev, these missiles do not come under the START I Treaty, which Ukraine joined in 1992 in Lisbon. Experts on Soviet missile technology maintain that after retargeting, the Ukrainian missiles could in principle hit targets in the European part of Russia.

The SS-24 missiles were manufactured in Ukraine, at the Yuzhnoye scientific and production association, where Leonid Kuchma worked as general director. If the missiles stay in service for a long time, the association employees, as well as many other defense industry enterprises in Ukraine, will have at least some work to do, which apparently accounts for the somewhat unexpected similarity in the aspirations of Ukrainian nationalists and pragmatic internationalists from among the director corps of the former Soviet military-industrial complex. [passage omitted]

In May 1992, the last tactical nuclear munitions were withdrawn from Ukraine, and many supposed that the threat of an actual Russian-Ukrainian confrontation was postponed indefinitely. Strategic nuclear systems seemed ill-suited for resolving the long-standing dispute among the Slavs—at any rate, U.S. silo-based intercontinental missiles are. Therefore, Western specialists believed that the nuclear missiles in Ukraine were "designed" for the Chinese, and they could not possibly hit West European countries for purely physical (technical) reasons.

The analogy method in comparing the U.S. and the former Soviet nuclear potential, however, seems inappropriate here. The targeting system in the strategic missile forces was more flexible, while the minimum range of Soviet ballistic missiles was apparently considerably less than that of U.S. missiles. Experts on Soviet missiles thus far refuse to provide accurate figures, but apparently it was erroneous of Western Europe to believe that the missiles of the 43d Army were meant for somebody else (the Chinese). If necessary, as far as can be judged, they could have quite accurately hit Paris, London, Hamburg, or Copenhagen, and, after possible retargeting, would be able to hit Moscow or St. Petersburg.

## Campaign for Russian Status for Sevastopol Continues

*LD0608193393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Events in the Crimea are again in the headlines. Over 195,000 residents of the Crimea have signed a petition calling for a referendum on whether to recall the deputies from the local parliament. This was more than the minimum number required. The authenticity of the signatures is now being checked by a working group of the Crimean Supreme Soviet. Our program continues with a report from Sevastopol.

[Vladimirr Plotnikov] The second town Veche has been held in Sevastopol. It was organized by the National Salvation Front and, so far, has been working to implement the resolution by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet on Russian status for Sevastopol. In particular, a Russian town council has been set up, the aim of which is to restore Russian statehood and make it possible for local authorities to work in accordance with Russian Federation legislation.

The Veche adopted an appeal to soviets of all levels and all the people of the Russian Federation to provide moral support to the just desire of the people of Sevastopol to return under the wing of mother Russia.

An appeal to the Ukrainian people says that the assertion of Russian statehood in Sevastopol does not infringe on the rights and interests of Ukrainians and residents of other nationalities, to which the centuries-old history of the town bears witness. Also, a resolution was passed on a public opinion poll on including into the Russian Constitution a clause about federal status for Sevastopol.

## Lithuanian Delegation Holds Talks in Moscow

*LD0508181593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] A meeting of Lithuanian and Russian state negotiation delegations started in Moscow today. A draft treaty on the withdrawal of the Russian troops is being discussed.

The Lithuanian delegation is headed by Virgilijus Bulovas, member of the Seimas, and the Russian delegation is headed by Ambassador Viktor Isakov.

According to the agreement by the parties, only one day has been allotted for the meeting of the delegations, however, according to reports received by ELTA from Moscow, the meeting could be continued tomorrow.

Only several issues of the draft treaty had been discussed by lunch time. Consultations were held during the break.

According to unofficial reports the stance held by the parties on the issue of reparation to Lithuania had not changed at the afternoon session.

According to the report received by ELTA from Natalya Boganova, secretary of the Lithuanian Embassy, the delegations will meet at the negotiation table once again tonight.

## Delegation Holds Talks in U.S. on Business Fund

*LD0608223693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0520 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Mzareulov]

[Text] Washington, 6 Aug—Leonid Bochin, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for the New Economic Structures, was in Washington on 1-6 August. The main aim of his visit was to discuss the organization and work of the American-Russian Entrepreneurship Fund. The fund was proposed by the U.S. side during the meeting between Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton in Vancouver.

The sides' approaches about implementing the proposal, which is aimed at assisting small- and medium-size businesses in Russia, were discussed in detail during Bochin's meetings with Thomas Simon, coordinator of U.S. aid to the CIS and the countries of Eastern Europe at the U.S. State Department [title as received], and also with members of the board of directors on the U.S. side.

"After our meetings here, we understood it is time we moved from romantic ideas about the Russian economy to a practical use of the fund's means," L. Bochin told Russian journalists. "We have reached an agreement to set up a functioning mechanism and the directions of its activity. We must speed up as much as possible the process of creating the fund. The situation in Russia demands this."

"We have clearly specified that the fund is intended to provide financial support for private structures which are coming into being in Russia, to make investments, to grant loans, and to provide technical aid for assisting small- and medium-size Russian businesses," L. Bochin stressed. "We brought a package of proposals which are adjusted as much as possible to the Russian economy and legislation. The idea behind them is that money is best spent not on providing consultative services or on organizing specialists' trips, but on investing in real production. We have serious investment projects in our small- and medium-sized businesses, but our own resources are not enough to implement them. A freely convertible currency is the only savior, I mean investing it in production, in mini-factories, in creating an infrastructure, in completing delayed construction projects, and in giving loans to those who are short of small sums to start the manufacture of extremely important products."

L. Bochin said that under the International Administration of Cooperation and Development [as received], $50 million has been allocated to the U.S.-Russian fund. The Russian representative invited (Gerald Corrigan), chairman of the fund on the U.S. side, to visit Moscow in September to discuss in detail the fund's activities in Russia.

During his visit, L. Bochin also had meetings with senior members of the U.S. Justice Department and the Federal Trade Commission, at which ways of implementing previously concluded agreements on cooperation in the field of the antimonopoly activity, competition policies, and the protection of consumer rights were discussed.

## Gorizont Communications Satellite Launched

*PM0608122593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

[Report by Vladimir Nadein: "Communications Satellite More Successful Than Spy Satellite"]

[Text] Washington—The "Rimsat" company has announced the successful launch into stationary orbit of the "Gorizont" satellite, which marks the first step in the extensive program of this private company, which is a U.S.-Russian joint venture.

The satellite has been "suspended" over the rapidly developing Asian-Pacific region. On board the communications equipment is undergoing final tests. Digital information and video and telephone communications will serve consumers from India and China to Australia and New Zealand.

"The launching of this satellite proves that Russia is a reliable supplier of sophisticated equipment, and we have proved 'Rimsat's' ability to finance such operations," said Michael Steinberg, one of the company's leaders. Under the contract with the Russian Informkosmos agency, two more Gorizont satellites are being prepared for launch and, in all, the pool of communications satellites over the Asian and Pacific region will increase to seven.

The start of the week was not filled with gratifying space news for the United States, however. As IZVESTIYA has already reported, the enormous Titan-4 rocket, as high as a 17-story house, exploded on Monday evening while it was being launched from the Vandenberg military air base in California.

The U.S. mass media call this catastrophe, which occurred 101 seconds after launching, the most serious in the country's history since the destruction of the "Challenger" in 1986. This time there were no human casualties, since the rocket and "Lacrosse" satellite were intended for intelligence purposes.

## Germany To Stop Guaranteeing Credits for Goods

*LD0808114793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1139 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulbitskiy]

[Text] Bonn August 8 TASS—The German Government ordered to stop guaranteing credits and paying for deliveries of goods to Russia, which was confirmed by an official of the German Economics ministry, the newspaper WELT am SONNTAG reported.

Guenter Rexrodt, German economics minister, stressed that Bonn had to take this step because of increasing risks involved in any further crediting of the Russian economy. In addition to it, the move by the German Government was prompted by the country's own financial difficulties, as well as by Russia's delay in foreign

debt servicing. Before this September, Germany is to receive 500 mln deutschemarks from Russia as interest payment.

## Churkin Holds Talks With Greek Officials in Athens

*LD0708111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0641 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev]

[Text] Athens, 7 Aug—On 6 August Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin and Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Viryinia Tsoudherou held political consultations in the framework of regular contacts between the two countries on various aspects of the Yugoslav crisis and the situation on the Balkans in general, in line with agreements reached during the recent visits to Greece by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

V. Churkin told the Greek side about the progress in the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina, and V.Tsouderou informed her interlocutor about the particular efforts made by the Greek side toward the settlement of the Bosnian problem, in light of the visit by Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis to Belgrade. During the consultations a wide coincidence of the sides' positions was confirmed regarding the insistent necessity for a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian crisis by political means. The need to strictly observe relevant resolutions of the UN Security Council was stressed, and also to use correctly appropriate international mechanisms. The sides expressed the hope that the existing obstacles on the way toward a speedy continuation of dialogue between all involved parties would be overcome.

Concern was voiced at the fact that the UN Sanctions Committee is not fulfilling its duties as it should, because it is hampering the supplies of humanitarian aid to the civilian population of the SRY (Serbia and Montenegro) [as received]. The sides also advocated a gradual lifting of the embargo against the SRY depending on the progress toward a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian problem. Agreement was reached to coordinate efforts by the two both sides in achieving the aim. Further progress was stated in the development of Russian-Greek cooperation as a result of recent top-level contacts.

The Yugoslav crisis was at the center of attention at a meeting on 6 August between V. Churkin and Greek Foreign Minister Mikhail Papakonstandinou.

## Commander Explains Decision To Halt Withdrawal From Poland

*PM0608162393 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 3*

[Report by correspondent Mikhail Tretyakov: "Standing In Railroad Sidings"]

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Aug—The withdrawal of the last major unit of the Northern Group of Forces—the special communications brigade stationed in Rembertow, near Warsaw, which has looked after government communications between the two countries' leaders for almost 50 years—was planned to take place at 1900 hours (local time) last Tuesday. However, this did not happen, although the military train was fully loaded and the unit ready to set off. Why not? Your correspondent put that question to representative of the Russian Government responsible for the withdrawal of our troops from Poland, Colonel General Leonid Kovalev, commander of the Northern Group of Forces. This is what he said.

"I issued the order to delay the withdrawal of troops because a last-minute problem arose over the accommodation in Warsaw of our military mission, which will monitor on Polish territory the transit of Russian troops from Germany.

"The Polish side suddenly began insisting that the mission be housed on the territory of the Russian Embassy in Warsaw. We, however, consider that it should be located in the building in which our office in charge of Army rail transportation has been operating since 1948."

[Tretyakov] Why?

[Kovalev] The point is that the building satisfies all the conditions necessary for the normal operation of our mission, which will be here until we have withdrawn our troops from Germany.

What, then, is the cause of this problem which arose so suddenly and which could affect our troops' withdrawal timetable? Officials made a "slipup." The location of the mission, which is to replace the Northern Group of Forces command, was not specified in the final document during the Moscow talks on the withdrawal of our troops from Poland.

It transpires that while each interested party is trying to resolve the contentious issue in its own favor the military train, which is fully ready to leave, is standing in the sidings.

As far as the location of the mission in our diplomatic office in Warsaw is concerned, the building is not made of rubber and it will be very difficult to accommodate another 30 people, and that is the mission's complement. And do we want to militarize the Russian Embassy in Warsaw?

## Official Explains Purpose of Delegation's Visit to Iraq

*MK0608112293 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 40, 6 Aug 93 (signed to press 5 Aug) p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Denies Possibility of Economic Agreement Being Signed Between Iraq and Russian Federation"]

[Text] Igor Melekhov, a highly-placed Russian Federation Foreign Ministry official, reported that the Russian delegation headed by Oleg Davydov, deputy minister of the Russian Federation Foreign Economic Relations Ministry, is currently in Iraq in order to assess Iraqi obligations on credits extended earlier to Baghdad by the former USSR. "No other problems will be discussed," Mr. Melekhov said. "Even if some framework documents are signed, they cannot really come into force until after the international sanctions against Iraq have been lifted," he stated.

## Local Opposition to Redrawing PRC Border Mounts

*PM0908083193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 1*

[Correspondent Sergey Avdeyev report: "Chinese Diplomats Take Damanskiy Without a Fight and Advance Swiftly Deep Into Russian Territory"]

[Text] Maritime Kray—Maritime Kray Administration Head Yevgeniy Nazdratenko has refused to travel to China as part of a high-level official delegation. He is convinced that "not everything is sufficiently clear regarding the territorial question" between our two countries. And a session of the kray soviet has unanimously decided to recall its permanent representative from the Russian Demarcation Commission in token of protest at the policy the commission is pursuing.

This "local rebellion" was prompted by Russian Foreign Ministry documents "clarifying" the Russian-Chinese border and potentially tearing 1,600 hectares of land away from Maritime Kray's territory. And although it is too soon to speak of tearing away (the point of the demarcation effort is to straighten out and optimally calculate the border), the kray's leadership, suspecting something amiss in the sentiments of the Moscow and Beijing diplomats, unequivocally decided that in this situation it is better to play safe.

It is being said that the Russian-Chinese border in the east has long needed professional study and substantiation, since it was drawn back during the last century, using imperfect methods. Taking into account the immutable rule throughout the world: A border runs through the main channel in a river and along the watershed between rivers on land. The Joint Demarcation Commission decided that the new clarified border should run through the land of three rayons in Maritime Kray. Khankayskiy Rayon is to lose 410 hectares of plowland, Ussuriyskiy Rayon is to lose 960 hectares of first-class cedar forest, and in Khasanskiy Rayon we are to leave China 328 hectares of land and clear off from the Tumannaya River.

Whether they consulted with the local leadership and population over this, as the law requires, or not is a separate issue. Today the entire leadership in the kray has totally changed, and it is going to answer only for its own actions. Therefore Igor Belchuk, Maritime Kray's permanent representative on the demarcation commission, did not sign a single document and on his return from Moscow reported to deputies on the center's practically "treacherous" position regarding the territories under its jurisdiction. At that same session Kray Administration Head Ye. Nazdratenko spoke out quite categorically: We will not let anyone have even a square meter of our land.

However sad as it may be to admit, emotions are appropriate here. Even a quick glance at a map is enough to show that the border between our countries is as straight as possible and is optimized right now. Topographers assert that under the new approach the watershed becomes very dubious and a thorough survey is needed. And just imagine the feelings of a farmer whose home and land they want to take away because "last century the border was erroneously drawn not through the Granitnaya River but through the Sovetskaya River."

Moreover, the upcoming demarcation affects the sacred interests of our state. Thus, recent diplomatic accords state that over a dozen islands on the Ussuri River, including the famous island of Damanskiy, belong to neighboring China. The errors of diplomats of 20 years ago mean that the blood of our border guards was shed in vain. It is now planned to transfer to China lands as heavily soaked in our soldiers' blood as the hills of Zaozernaya and Bezymyannaya—the historical monuments to the Khasan events [1938 clashes with Japan].

The Ussuri cossack movement has spoken out in unequivocal terms: Unless the diplomats and politicians agree to leave the borders in their previous form, we are prepared to go to the defense of the homeland. And after this the kray governor suggested accelerating the process of settling disputed territories along the border with Russian cossack families.

Meanwhile the talks are under way and are turning into debates and demarches. Genrikh Kireyev, the Russian foreign minister's ambassador at large, has declared that no one has any intention of taking land away from the people of Maritime Kray. But people no longer believe him, because the documents say otherwise. Relying on the deputies' opinion, the local authorities are preparing new effective protest measures, and border guards are warily watching all this.

The stakes are all too high, the people are only too tired, and it is impossible by any means to satisfy the interests of each player in this new game, because there are too many participants.

And as always, there is only one Russia...

## Yeltsin Sends Greetings to Visitors of 'Expo-93'

*LD0608134493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1325 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Taejon (South Korea) August 6 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's greeting to visitors of the Russian exposition at the world exhibition "Expo-93" opening in South Korean city of Taejon today, has been spread here.

"I am heartily welcoming guests and participants of the world exhibition "Expo-93" devoted to the highest achievements in the field of modern scientific developments and technologies," the greeting says.

"The exhibition which is being organised on the turn of the centuries under the motto "The choice of a new way of development" is directed towards the third millennium. It is very symbolic that it is being held in the Republic of Korea which is surprising the world with its rapid movement towards progress. This country is of a special interest to us, Russians, first of all because we are also conducting an intensive search for new forms of a social and economic system which would correspond to the specific features of our unique country.

Today as never before great is the moral responsibility of politicians, entrepreneurs and scientists for the fate of the world community, the preservation of natural habitat of the people of the earth, the further increasing of material and spiritual values on the basis of the latest scientific and technical thought. I believe that the exhibition will become yet another convincing evidence of the profound realisation of this responsibility, and a grandiose review of a practical embodiment of the emancipated thought of mankind.

I do not doubt that the "Expo-93" exhibition will serve the noble cause of mutual enrichment of cultures, the strengthening of international humanitarian, business and scientific-and-technical ties for the benefit of the people of our planet.

I wish all visitors of the "Expo-93" to gain favorable impressions and new hopes," Russian President Boris Yeltsin says in his greeting.

## Economic Issues

### Chernomyrdin Addresses Council of Ministers on Economy

*LD0608165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1211 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Ivan Ivanov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Aug—"The condition in which our statehood currently finds itself represents the main factor curtailing the policy of forming a market economy in Russia," Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said today in the Kremlin in an address to an expanded sitting of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers. He delivered a report on Russia's social and economic situation and measures to stabilize it. The prime minister thinks the optimal political condition for moving reforms ahead is to bring the process begun by the Constitutional Conference to its completion.

Summing up the results of the government's socioeconomic policy in the first six months, Viktor Chernomyrdin noted that the present economic situation in the country continues to be "extremely difficult." However, according to him, the situation this year is no worse than it was at the end of last year, and moreover "the first signs that the crisis is easing up are appearing." Having admitted that the situation is "still far from being stable," the government chief named among the positive signs a certain lowering of the level of inflation and a halt in the drop in production. At the same time, he added that "it has not yet been possible to fully rectify the situation in industry."

As a whole, the prime minister summed up, "we are continuing to remain in a state of temporary unstable equilibrium." "On the one hand, the prerequisites are arising for gradually getting on track for economic growth; on the other hand, the danger of the negative processes growing deeper is no less visible. Essentially, since the beginning of the year we have been at a new stage in the economic reform, where the question of setting up a new mechanism for influencing the state in the development of the national economy has become acute," Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed, noting that today's working program of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers from 1993-95 for "The Development of Reforms and the Stabilization of the Russian Economy" is aimed precisely at this.

Moving on to the specific tasks the government will have to tackle, the prime minister stated that "stabilizing the financial situation and struggling with inflation will continue to be the most important areas of its activity." Rejecting the idea of continuing its "shock therapy," Viktor Chernomyrdin said "the only way to improve the economy today is to continue consistently but sensibly with a strict financial policy."

Speaking about the 1961-92 exchange of bank notes, Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed that "what seemed to be a purely technical action, which had a necessary rational element as its basis, turned out to be an ill-conceived and badly organized campaign, both politically and psychologically." The head of the government stressed that one should not try to seek here "some subversive plot," or "an action intended to destabilize the country." In his words, the panic surrounding the old exchange of bank notes is already receding. By 4 August, 903 billion rubles [R] worth of old bank notes had already been exchanged, out of which R240 billion were exchanged via the savings bank.

Viktor Chernomyrdin told the meeting of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers that the model of socioeconomic policy which has been developed can only be implemented when an effective mechanism of national accord has been created.

He said: "One cannot fail to see that despite an acute political confrontation, the objective preconditions for attaining national accord with regard to reforming the Russian economy already exist. Undoubtedly there are obvious sharp conflicts of interests between different social groups, regions, federal, and local power bodies. There is no doubt that the Supreme Soviet is adopting counter-productive positions on a number of key issues of economic policy. This was shown, for instance, during the recent all Russian economic conference, which would have produced much more significant and weighty results if some of the organizers had heeded the government's view on the time and methods of holding it."

Viktor Chernomyrdin further noted that it is necessary, above all, to ensure that the movement of national economic solidarity, begun by the "roundtable" declaration, should be given such forms as will ensure that all important social and political forces and regions in Russia are represented in it, and that no one can make use of it to pursue narrow political goals. "Without laying claims to any sort of monopoly, the prime minister said, the government is ready to assume its share of the responsibility to organize this work. I think the report that has been presented could become our first and weighty contribution to this patriotic cause."

Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed: "The government is opposed to any extremes or jolts in the economy. We are for a centrist policy, for the only possible "middle" course, which at the same time represents the sole possible vector of reforms. We will pursue this line firmly and consistently. Only thus will we be able to extricate ourselves from the crisis. Only thus will we save the country from chaos and self-destruction. Only thus will we regenerate Russia." Speaking of agrarian policy, the prime minister said: "Ensuring the gathering of the harvest is currently the most important task for the government and local administrations alike. If the harvest is well organized, the country can and is bound to obtain up to 120 million tonnes of grain crops this year.

Peasants in the country are beginning to find it possible not only to buy, but also to trade in bread grain on the world market." The prime minister said significant cuts in the purchases of imported food and grain are planned for the second half of the year.

Dwelling in particular on the prices of the new grain harvest, since the prices of foodstuffs depend on their level, Viktor Chernomyrdin reported that the government has set an average price of R60,000 for one tonne of grain, and in August, taking account of indexation, around R70,000 for one tonne. In present conditions, he added, this is the most acceptable decision since it supports agriculture on the one hand and guarantees a restrained growth of foodstuff prices on the other. However, in this event, too, substantial resources will be required from the government to subsidize poor groups of the population. The budgetary subsidies on grain for baking bread will remain until the end of 1993. Subsidies on animal husbandry products will also be continued.

Enumerating the priorities in the government's policy, its head noted that he would like to avoid reproaches of failure to pay attention to the problems of science and culture, all the more so since "science, especially fundamental science, our native culture, is now in the 'risk zone' today. Our immediate task is to preserve Russian scientific and cultural potential. We will find the money for this. We will tighten our belts elsewhere, but we will not abandon that priority sphere."

Viktor Chernomyrdin described the government's work in the sphere of social policy as the most sensitive and difficult part of its work. He said: "The measures undertaken by the government to maintain the population's salaries at a realistic level have allowed us to somewhat soften the social consequences of the current stage of reforms and have on the whole slowed down the fall in living standards. The coming structural change and the implementation of legislation on bankruptcy will inevitably lead to a notable worsening of the situation on the labor market. The government has envisaged a procedure for providing social guarantees for workers when enterprises are reorganized or closed down."

The situation in the social sphere, the prime minister said, depends to a large extent on coordinating activities between the relevant ministries and departments. On this subject, he pointed out the unsatisfactory state of affairs regarding cooperation between the Russian Labor, Finance, and Economy Ministries.

Moving on to issues of regional policy, Viktor Chernomyrdin noted that one of the most acute problems is the problem of equality between the subjects of the Federation. He said it is clearly impossible to eliminate completely the historical differences at a stroke. Therefore the task is to combine forces and gradually move in this direction. Willful, spontaneous actions—be they the proclamation of new "republics" or a desire to gain some sort of unfounded advantages over other subjects of the Federation—contradict the course of our reforms aimed at preserving Russia's integrity.

"Calculations show that there is practically no single region in Russia, the Sverdlovsk region included, that would be able to survive on its own." In this context, the prime minister noted that in the conditions of moving toward market relations, only a regional economic policy can serve as the basis of a federal state, built on the basis of the vital economic interests of regions and not on the basis of structural ideas of politicians. This, he said, applies to Tatarstan and to others.

The tragedy at the Kama motor vehicle works should serve as a lesson here, because no single republic is likely to be able to rebuild so enormous an enterprise on its own. Let me be frank, the prime minister noted, all efforts to get the economic reforms moving will become useless if the constituent parts of the Federation, blindly following some of their leaders, begin to unilaterally introduce restrictions on the export of output by enterprises, establish their own customs barriers, violate the foundations of the budget structure and tax laws, and set export quotas and the like. The emergence of such policies is impermissible and, in essence, it signifies the start of the disintegration of the economic space of the federal state.

The Russian Government views normalization of economic ties with its close foreign neighbors and the elaboration of an effective mechanism of cooperation as one of its priorities. Measures have been taken to create conditions to restore and deepen direct ties between the enterprises, industries, and regions of the former Union republics. On the whole, encouraging and positive changes have recently begun to take shape in the mutual relations among the Commonwealth states. Grounds have emerged to sign a treaty to establish an economic union, which is called upon to raise the interaction among the CIS countries to a qualitatively new level.

Speaking of Russia's foreign policy, Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed: "We need both the West, and the East, but they also need us just as much. For instance, industrially developed countries can no longer avert the dangers of new energy crises without Russia. He recalled that he had interesting conversations about that issue during his recent visit to Germany. The main content of the dialogue with the West, the prime minister said, is no longer the volume of and schedule for credit and financial assistance for Russia, but the creation of the optimal conditions for Russia to enter important international markets. The prerequisites for this already exist.

There has also been a turning point, the easing of discriminatory restrictions concerning Russia, through the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls [Cocom] and national legislations. This is shown, in particular, by the Russian-U.S. agreements on cooperation in space, the utilization of which may bring Russia $2,000 million income.

The prime minister pointed out the need for political and diplomatic efforts to eliminate the conflicts in the "hot spots." He stressed: Russia, cannot allow itself the crazy luxury of being drawn into them. Our efforts to regulate the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict are dictated by this. We will stick firmly to this policy with regard to events on the Tajik-Afghan frontier. I want to state quite definitely that we will make every effort to preserve a policy of neutrality, using methods of political settlement, from the point of view of national reconciliation. This is a Tajik-Tajik conflict, not a Russian-Afghan one. We will not permit a new Afghan war.

Speaking of the situation which has evolved on the territory on which the state of emergency is in force in North Ossetia and Ingushetia, Viktor Chernomyrdin noted that the government does not intend to watch neutrally the unabating flames of hostility and mistrust." "If we were unable to prevent that conflict starting, we now have to get out of it wisely and in a worthy manner. The only path is that of joint efforts of the peoples of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, respecting each other's interests," he stated.

### Views Bank Notes Exchange

*LD0608142393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] An expanded sitting of the Russian Federation is being held under the chairmanship of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow today. The meeting aims to sum up the results of the government's work and discuss a program for stabilizing Russia's economy in 1993-1995. There have been many recent attempts to reach a public accord. Today a new opportunity appeared—the economy and concern for daily bread—and this is the basis which makes it possible for various public forces to unite.

The stabilization of the country's economy is the main topic of the Russian government expanded sitting. President Boris Yeltsin opened the sitting. [passage omitted] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, taking into account the lessons of the first stage of the reforms, thought fundamental amendments should be introduced.

First of all, it is to enhance the social thrust of the government's course. In practice this means that privatization will not affect the sector of the economy which is being preserved as state property and that in the future the fight against inflation will not be carried out by shock therapy methods. By reducing its interference in the economy, the government intends to actively finance the production of most important goods, first of all, agricultural produce. To all appearances, the Cabinet of Ministers is ready to admit its own mistakes.

[Begin Chernomyrdin recording] I cannot avoid such a major topic as recent events connected with the notorious decision by the Russian Federation Central Bank on the exchange of money issued in 1961-1992. This apparently technical action, which had a necessary rational element in its basis, turned out to be miscalculated and unprepared in organizational, political, and even, if you like, psychological terms. The Russian president introduced the necessary amendments to this decision. But this again was several days late. I want to stress especially that it is a question of a mistake, a miscalculation which should be corrected and from which lessons should be drawn. Looking for some sort of a conspiracy here—a deliberately prepared action, which was carried out and which was aimed at destabilizing the situation in the country—would mean being of too good an opinion about those who invented this particular exchange of bank notes." [end recording]

Speeches by the participants in the sitting show that a new government program can become a basis for a single strategic plan to reorganize Russia.

### Sums Up Session

*LD0608123393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—Summing up the results of today's Russian Council of Ministers session, Viktor Chernomyrdin said it was essential to overcome the current crisis in relations between various branches of power, having stressed that "things cannot continue like that anymore." He recalled that Russia's current government "has never assumed anybody else's functions" and "did not root about in this muck." The prime minister said: "This is not the case, nor will it be the case." Speaking of the recent disagreements within the government itself, Chernomyrdin stressed: "If anyone else speaks on the government's behalf and it runs counter to the government's line, let him seek another job for himself." The prime minister let it be understood that, in this particular case, he had Russian Finance Minister Boris Fedorov in mind.

### Chernomyrdin Interviewed on Government Work

*LD0608215493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1735 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Interview with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin by unidentified correspondent on 6 August; place not given; from the "Interview with V.S. Chernomyrdin, Chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Viktor Stepanovich, I think it would be safe to say that today marks a new stage in the work of the government. Today you presented the working program for the development of reforms and for the stabilization of the Russian economy. What is your

assessment of the results of the discussion? One more thing: I wonder what you thought of your audience. Has it become more market-oriented, or is the traditional approach still strong?

[Chernomyrdin] I must say this is by no means an easy question for us. Before today, we presented a comprehensive government report, then the government program for the period until 1995, and now we have put a concentrated effort into this discussion.

Personally, I am pleased with today's discussion. It may not be quite what I expected in some respects. But on the whole, the discussion was both correct and pointed. We heard a lot of remarks directed at ourselves, a lot of valuable suggestions as to what should be done at this stage, not to mention the problems we have outlined ourselves, to which all the speakers had something to add. So in effect, it was a interested discussion about what the main concerns in the country are, what should be done and how.

[Correspondent] But those suggestions were often contradictory.

[Chernomyrdin] So they were. But this is how it should be. By the way, I like the question you asked me about the audience and what I thought of it. Considering that I have faced many different audiences, both in this very hall and elsewhere, this is something that I find very important. I think you must have noticed, as did many others, that today's discussion was far from traditional. It was not a case of Chernomyrdin being praised, quoted all round and supported. On the contrary, it was clearly a market-oriented discussion.

I would also like you to note that today nobody tried to send us back to the past; nobody complained of things having changed. Oh no! What everybody said was: Yes, there is a problem here, but it has to be addressed. OK, funding is faltering, but this has to be put right. Credits are not reaching their destination, but why? There are people who answer for this in the government, there is the bank, so there are people who ought to make decisions. So why don't they do it? This is how the question was put today.

[Correspondent] Viktor Stepanovich, I also got the impression that a large proportion of those present seemed—I would not like to offend them—to be all but putting a knife to the government's throat, demanding to be given this and that. And this seems to be the way of treating the authorities familiar from the old days.

[Chernomyrdin] Well, yes. As I see it, you naturally cannot get away from this. People who are in command have problems to solve. For instance, we have had a lot of talk about harvesting today, with people unable to buy spare parts. This is what it is all about. We are granting credits, and these credits go missing. If it takes 12 days for credits to get from the oblast center to the rayon center, and then the same again to get to the farm itself, what do you want? What they demanded was not to be given something extra, but to be given what is theirs by right. Mind you, it has all been sent on the way, but they still have not received it!

[Correspondent] So you are saying that although they did ask for things, it was not like in the old days?

[Chernomyrdin] They did ask. Or rather, not ask but demand. Incidentally, I do not usually like requests, but this was no request, so I was somewhat uncomfortable today listening to this talk.

[Correspondent] By the way, you said that today's expanded government sitting was not quite what you expected it to be. I must say that those present, as well as observers, also expected something different. Some expected a turn in economic policy to more government participation in or control over the market economy. Others expected personnel changes in the government. What did you expected?

[Chernomyrdin] I was actually expecting something different. I feared it might be all according to the usual pattern, that we would have the report, then speeches, everything along the usual lines. And I really did not want it to be like that. I am pleased that we have something to work on, that there were no differences of opinion between us today. You understand, we did not differ over anything at all.

[Correspondent] So you mean that you needed support in continuing the reforms?

[Chernomyrdin] Support indeed. And as for the talk about some wild ideas that came up the day before....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Yes, in fact I wanted to ask you what this fuss was all about, some sort of alternative program, some immediate or emergency measures to stabilize the economy.

[Chernomyrdin] I should tell you again....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Is there no such program, then?

[Chernomyrdin] Just hang on a minute! Let me tell you, the government officially sent out a document to all the regions, then a working program was drawn up which specified and set out everything. I myself discussed and prepared everything together with those I work with. And the government sent it out officially. Then all of a sudden they are today discussing a document I know nothing about, and talking about me, about the government. They are not talking about the official document which the government sent out, but talking about some sort of inventions that someone allegedly sent out somewhere or other. It is quite possible, because we have a lot of institutes. After all, we have a lot of clever people, stunningly clever folk, but why are they discussing things other than what they were given?

Did you hear anyone today, even one person, in this hall, where there were 500 individuals, speak about this other document? No one did.

[Correspondent] Viktor Stepanovich, after you adopted the program....

[Chernomyrdin, interrupting] We will not make much progress that way.

[Correspondent] Now that you have adopted the program, when do you intend to address the Supreme Soviet?

[Chernomyrdin] We have adopted the program as a basis—the report and the program, that is—and we will not be working. I am convinced that after today's discussion, although there were in principle no particular variant readings—let us put it that way—I would like it to be supplemented. I am now ready at any time to go to the Supreme Soviet, just as soon as they ask me.

[Correspondent] The situation within the government is now being excitedly discussed by everyone, including the mass media, economists, and the lower administrative structures. They are saying that at the meeting today a split was to be heard; they are claiming that differing points of view exist within the government. It also concerns corruption within the government. Could you answer both these questions?

[Chernomyrdin] I am obliged to do so, if you ask me, especially when it is a question about the government. This outburst that occurred recently, and occurred outside the confines of this house, does no honor either to the chairman [of the government] or to those responsible for it. It was yesterday that we had this discussion. I had foreseen that there would probably be such a discussion, and yesterday within our family circle we exchanged views, specified and explained our positions, and expressed warnings. Everything is allowed here in this building and in this office, or in any other; one can agree or differ, but it is only possible to leave here with a single viewpoint, especially on fundamental issues.

Therefore regarding what was said yesterday and what was said to us here just now today at this session of the Council of Ministers, one cannot work in this way, of course. I must say—I said this at the session and I can repeat it to you—that this will not happen. If a member of the government speaks somewhere and says things that do not coincide with the government's decision, that person cannot and will not work in the government.

[Correspondent] Will there be any reshuffles in this respect in the near future?

[Chernomyrdin] There will be if what I was talking about happens.

[Correspondent] And if it doesn't?

[Chernomyrdin] If it doesn't, then there is no point. I want to get on with the work.

[Correspondent] There are again rumors about a radical shake-up of the government.

[Chernomyrdin] I have to say that you do not need too many brains to move people around. It's easily enough done. I am repeating myself. The leader is responsible most of all. He is responsible for all this, and he is bearing that responsibility. Whom to dismiss and whom to appoint is up to him. To get someone else and show him what to do and how to do it—there simply are not such people around. It doesn't happen like that. The task of the leader of the government, and even more so of the whole team, should be to pull together. You have to create a team, and to do that you need time.

What I want is for these people to learn, at the end of the day, how to work together. But the main thing you have to understand is the degree of responsibility placed on you. You have to remember that your every word and deed could lead to enormous consequences. Sometimes extremely unwelcome ones.

[Correspondent] Viktor Stepanovich, about corruption.

[Chernomyrdin] I simply cannot grab someone and nail him to the wall because of rumors, remarks made, because of an intonation, or even a direct accusation of something. Ultimately this is a state, a law-based state, or at least we want to be a law-based state as we keep declaring and saying. But what if proceedings have been started over an incident, an incident to which Shumeyko is a witness? If Shumeyko is even the slightest bit implicated and if proceedings are started against him, then he will not stay in the government for one minute longer. But this is not the way to go about things—making accusations but not actually saying anything. Tomorrow it could happen to absolutely anyone, tomorrow they could throw us all out.

[Correspondent] Politics is a complicated matter.

[Chernomyrdin] It is not politics! It is not politics!

[Correspondent] It is not a criminal activity in itself, but it is very important for a politician to be absolutely pure and spotless in this post. As you know, even a shadow can be dangerous.

[Chernomyrdin] Look, what is important and even offensive, I must say, to me now is when people talk about the government as if it were corrupt or anything else. It is the government of the Russian state. It has been, is, and will continue to be. The purity of this government must be looked after. It is not easy when you are simply accused without proof. Everybody is sick and tired of listening to all these feuds between the branches of power or, if that were not enough, to suggestions that such feuds are also occurring within the government. The most important fact, if I may return to the meeting of the Council of Ministers, is, of course, that they supported our program and adopted it. It was not adopted by just anybody, but by 500 people, all the

country's heads and leaders. What more need I say? I believe that for the government this is the greatest result.

[Correspondent] Thank you.

[Chernomyrdin] Thank you too.

### Fedorov Demands Bank Note Decision Be Revoked

*PM0608150193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 4*

[Article by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov: "An Illegal and Senseless Action That Is Harmful to Russia"]

[Text] The action taken by the Central Bank of Russia to exchange old bank notes is illegal from the juridical point of view, senseless and unquestionably damaging to Russia from the economic point of view, a blatant provocation aimed at undermining the people's confidence in the president, the government, and current socioeconomic policy from the political point of view, and insulting and offensive to the people of Russia from the moral point of view.

The bank's attempted total requisition of other people's property, to confiscate money which does not belong to it, has nothing in common with the inalienable right which the Central Bank possesses to replace one set of bank notes with another—gradually and with guarantees for all holders of bank notes. But the present action requires a legal ruling, and its organizers must be unquestionably punished.

In addition, this action blatantly flouts the rights of citizens and enterprises of states in the ruble zone who have the misfortune to use Soviet and Russian bank notes.

Insofar as this action violates a whole series of principles of international law and also international agreements concluded and signed by the Russian Federation, it could provoke a whole series of lawsuits in Russia which any international court would decide in favor of the plaintiffs against the defendant—Russia. Reports have already appeared about readiness to bring such lawsuits.

The economic aspect of the Central Bank's latest actions is even more vulnerable to criticism. If the main aim of the exchange is taken as defense against ruble intervention from the countries of the CIS, this action was nonsensical from the outset.

Before the exchange there were 5.1 trillion rubles [R] in cash in circulation within Russia, including approximately R1.7 trillion of the old type. According to estimates, there were R1.4 trillion mainly of the old type circulating in the [rest of the] ruble zone. The total supply of money in notes of the old type in the ruble zone as a whole (Russia plus the CIS) therefore came to R3.1 trillion (48 percent of the total cash supply of R6.5 trillion), or R21,000 per Russian citizen. If the fact that the Central Bank replaced a certain proportion of the old money even before the exchange is taken into account, this figure is even less. The fixed limit of R35,000 on the amount of money that could be exchanged meant that from the outset it was possible even theoretically to have exchanged twice over not only all the bank notes of the old type circulating on Russian territory, but also all the cash in the countries of the CIS.

With a fixed limit of R35,000 the volume of legally exchangable money totaled R5.2 trillion. Even in the event that the exchange had been carried out only by adult citizens of Russia—and even then, not by all of them (by 100 million persons, for example)—theoretically, R3.5 trillion could have been presented for exchange, which exceeds all possible estimates of the sum of money of the old type. Thus this action could not in principle have reduced ruble intervention from the CIS.

After the raising of the limit to R100,000 per person, the volume of the sum that can be legally offered for exchange grew to R15 trillion, which exceeds by a factor of 2.5 the entire ruble circulation in cash of the new and the old types of bank note together, and by a factor of five cash of the old type. Keeping any kind of limits in this case is absolutely senseless.

Moreover, far from reducing the cash supply in Russia, the exchange has caused it to increase dramatically. Like a giant vacuum cleaner, it has sucked bank notes of the old type onto Russian territory, which are being exchanged here at an average rate of two old notes to one new note. As a result the ruble zone is receiving half as many new Russian rubles, and Russian citizens double the amount of old rubles, which they have the full right to exchange at the Savings Bank at the rate of one-to-one.

Thus there has been a sharp growth in surplus demand in Russia against a reduction in demand in CIS countries. The increased money supply has hit commodity reserves, provoking the panic buying that had almost become a thing of the past, a sharp growth in the deficit, and an acceleration of inflation. The exchange of bank notes has disrupted the work of trade, savings banks, and the financial sphere, and virtually brought work to a standstill in many sectors. The "Pavlov effect," whereby the country did not work for three whole days in January 1991, is fully apparent. A heavy blow has been dealt to the trends which had hitherto been intensifying toward stabilization in the financial, trade, and production spheres. The total economic damage from this action to the Russian population (the loss of time, damage to health, and even loss of life in waiting lines; the vacationers, businessmen, immigrants, small commodity producers, and producers who have lost their funds or had them frozen) cannot be estimated.

The bank note exchange has undermined trust in the Central Bank and in the ruble itself as a savings and investment asset. Already the trend of flight from the ruble to the dollar has intensified dramatically. All transactions of any significance will be concluded in

dollars and serviced in dollars. Instead of strengthening the battle with dollarization, a crushing blow has been dealt to this battle. And, conversely, it is the dollarization of the economy that has received powerful support from the Central Bank.

A widespread major delusion in recent days is the claim that this action has separated the ruble zone from Russia and introduced a Russian national currency. It has not done this; indeed, in principle it could not do this. A whole series of republics have stated their intention to remain in the ruble zone. Russia will continue to be obliged to supply them with ruble notes, but this time the new, Russian, notes. To all intents and purposes agreements to this effect have been reached with a number of republics, including Kazakhstan—the principal exporter of inflation to Russia. Several republics have already declared that they will carry out an exchange internally on the same terms as in Russia. Thus instead of a civilized divorce permitting Russia to derive obvious advantages for some time to come from the use of the old rubles in the ruble zone, Russia has driven itself into a corner, being obliged now to supply the CIS with new Russian bank notes.

This action has brought no benefit to Russia; rather it has inflicted colossal damage. What induced the Central Bank to carry it out so expeditiously in the absence of the president and the minister of finance? Either professional incompetence, or specific design. And here we should move to the criminal aspect of the Central Bank's actions.

A comprehensive audit carried out by the firm Coopers and Lybrand discovered huge gaps in a whole series of the Central Bank's balance-sheet items which have not been explained in any rational way by its leadership. A thorough investigation could throw light on the true scale of financial machinations.

Obviously, one of the most important areas of these machinations has been deliveries of cash to CIS countries. After the de facto freezing of technical credits to the ruble zone at the end of April the Central Bank became prodigiously active in issuing cash. According to incomplete official statistics, in the course of three months—from 21 April through 28 July—R580 billion were transferred to CIS countries free of charge, without any consultation with the government or parliament and without any conditions; this figure includes R260 billion to Kazakhstan, R122 billion to Uzbekistan, and R71 billion to Turkmenistan. What commissions were received for this, and by whom, is a topic for a separate investigation. The action that has been carried out in recent days is not only reminiscent of a classic money laundering operation, but also repeats in its main features the State Bank of the USSR's operation in 1991 with the repudiation of the old 100-ruble notes, large sums in these notes being transferred to Austrian and Swiss Banks on the eve of this operation.

In the course of several "stormy" days in July a whole series of commercial structures, banks, money-changing offices, straightforward currency dealers, and the Savings Bank likewise, did a fantastically profitable business with unprecedentedly high capital returns. The centrally directed leak of information for a "select retinue" only increased both the size of the profits of these commercial structures and the sums paid for it to informed people.

Regardless of the intention of the organizers of the action, its practical implication inflicted serious political damage on the government and its economic policy. The reform policy finds itself objectively discredited. The people did not vote for this sort of action 25 April.

Huge damage has been inflicted on Russia's international prestige. The reaction of foreign states and the world community concerning the absurd act that has been perpetrated is one of profound dismay. Confidence in the Russian Government's policy has been seriously undermined. The G-7 countries and the main international financial organizations have expressed serious concern at the events in Russia and placed in serious doubt the fulfillment of the program of support for Russian economic reforms discussed in Tokyo 7-9 July 1993. In particular, receipt of the second part of the IMF's "system" credits worth $1.5 billion in September 1993 is unlikely. Other elements of the assistance program could be deferred or withdrawn.

Having unilaterally violated dozens of agreements with the countries of the CIS, Russia is bound to pay for this action with unlawful actions. At any rate, now any actions against Russia and the Russian-speaking population in the republics themselves will receive logical justification and moral support.

In these conditions, I think, it is essential that this action be revoked immediately and fully. It is essential to provide public explanations of the causes of the action, and to name those culpable for it. Finally, it is essential to make an official statement to the effect that neither the president nor the government will never tolerate anything like the action which the Central Bank has carried out.

## Fedorov Interviewed on Bank Notes, Economy

*LD0708023393*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1755 GMT on 6 August in the "Man of the Week" program carries an 15-minute live or recorded studio interview with Boris Fedorov, Russian finance minister and deputy prime minister, by an unidentified correspondent.

The correspondent begins by asking Fedorov about his childhood, then switches to the recent exchange of bank notes, asking him about his uncompromising stand on the issue. Fedorov says: "My firm stand is explained above all by the meaninglessness of this action. How many times can you repeat the same meaningless actions

in the same country? If it were not for January 1991 [Pavlov's monetary reform], I would probably not have taken such a firm stand. But what amazes me is the brazenness of certain people, who try to do virtually the same thing after just two years—and acting even less professionally than on the previous occasion. This is my first reason.

"Second, the fact that I knew nothing did not add any kind feelings on my part toward the initiators of the action. In January 1991, the political situation was somewhat different. Russia as such did not take part on that occasion. But this time, a huge moral and political blow has been dealt at confidence in Russia as a state, in its president, its government, and even, if you like, in the Finance Ministry. I regard it as a provocation, not least because just when we are considering ways of issuing bonds or some sort of securities to offset the deficit, using civilized methods, conducting talks with our creditors—at this very moment there comes an action after which everyone will find it difficult to believe us. The honest thing to do is to acknowledge that it was wrong, and to give guarantees that this will not be repeated—and meanwhile to repeal all those restrictions. This would be the right thing, which should raise confidence in the state. This is what has to be done."

The correspondent comments that confidence in the country's leadership is further undermined by continuing squabbles and lack of civility at the top. She then asks Fedorov whether he really apologized for Khasbulatov after the latter called Lady Thatcher "an old bag."

Fedorov replies: "Of course I did. I would not like people in Britain to think that everyone in this country is as loutish as our [parliament] speaker. I think I did the right thing. After all, she won four general elections—despite high unemployment, despite the fact that she pursued a very tough policy. She proved that a country can be thoroughly changed and reformed. She revitalized the British economy, averting the collapse, the crisis, the ruin it was moving towards. To think of such a person being insulted! Actually, a speaker should not get involved in such matters at all. His duty is to chair parliament sittings and to mind his own business. So by acting in this loutish manner, he insulted not only Thatcher, but our entire country, too."

The conversation then turns to Fedorov's appointment to the government. Reminiscing about his early days, Fedorov says: "Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, who back in 1990 was my best friend, told me in confidence that it was he who had recommended me for Silayev's government. So I probably owe it to him, and if he has any grievances, he ought to address them to himself first."

Asked if the situation in the country has changed since his first post in the government, Fedorov said that it has, because now real reforms are under way. He says: "At the time, especially after [Grigoriy] Yavlinskiy's departure, I was virtually alone. Today there are quite a lot of people in the government who pursue the policy of reform."

The correspondent goes on to praise Fedorov's commitment to his work, and then asks about his hobbies. She then turns to the budget recently adopted by the Supreme Soviet. Fedorov comments: "It is clear that the deficit adopted is politically motivated. In effect they turned down all our proposals and gathered as many expenditure items as they could, in order to gain popularity. They keep saying to everyone, from the Army to the pensioners, 'look how much we are doing for you'. At the same time, they keep robbing the people, since every unbacked ruble they put into circulation is an act of robbery. It means inflationary tax on all and sundry. Therefore, we naturally cannot agree with this budget. We are preparing documents for a presidential veto, and we shall fight to the end for the non-implementation of the budget."

Asked about possible consequences, Fedorov says: "There will naturally be attacks and attempts to remove me. It will be up to the country's top political leadership to decide whether they need me or not. I shall only work as long as I am needed and trusted." The correspondent then asks if he is prepared to part with his post, to which Fedorov answers in the affirmative.

Concluding the interview, Fedorov laments spending too much time on squabbles instead of pursuing the reform policy without interruption. Still, he claims, the government has managed to achieve a lot. It now has better understanding of finance, better control over credits; interest rates have risen from 80 to 170 percent; and the ruble rate has stabilized.

## Glazyev Announces Foreign Trade Balance of $9 Billion

*LD0608124593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1144 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Podyapolskiy]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—Russia's favorable balance in foreign trade made up some 9 billion dollars in the first six months of 1993, Sergey Glazyev, Russian minister for foreign economic relations, told an enlarged session of Russia's Government on Friday [6 August].

The minister accounted for such a considerable figure both by a higher efficiency of export and import operations, and by a substantial reduction in the import volume. According to Glazyev, hard currency reserves of Russian enterprises increased in the first half of this year by 5.5 billion dollars. Experts of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations estimate the total hard currency reserves to be accumulated by Russia's enterprises and commercial banks by the end of 1993 at 18 to 20 billion dollars.

The minister suggested that presently Russia may give up attracting foreign credits to finance current operations. "We are looking for foreign investors, while funds may be found quite near", he said. Glazyev believes that one of the government's priority tasks is to involve "huge hard currency resources" concentrated in Russian commercial banks into the investment process.

## Shumeyko Warns of Cost of Staying in Ruble Zone

*LD0808201993 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko believes that by deciding to remain in the ruble zone, Commonwealth states—and that probably includes Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan—will lose part of their sovereignty. This aspect, which cannot be particularly pleasing to them, ensues from the fact that from now on, the Central Bank of Russia will be their emission bank. That is to say, it is this and no other bank that will determine how many rubles may go outside Russia and when. And this is not all. The right to use our monetary unit will by no means be granted automatically. [Video show Shumeyko speaking at news conference]

[Begin Shumeyko recording] Those who will use rubles as their currency will from now on have to buy them, either for their gold reserves or for dollars, whichever they choose. But if the Russian ruble is to be in circulation on the territory of another state, it has to be bought from Russia properly. [end recording]

One can presume that relations between states within the ruble zone will largely depend on the degree of success in coordinating the nature and the speed of economic reform—not just in the sphere of finance.

## Presidential Aides See Flaws in Economic Plan

*PM0608114993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 4*

[Article "prepared by experts at the Russian Federation President's Administration Social Policy Analysis Center": "Draft Program for Getting Out of the Crisis More Reminiscent of a Hasty Response"]

[Text] The draft program of urgent measures to get us out of the economic crisis, which is to be discussed at a coming government session—as IZVESTIYA reported 4 August—has become known to a wide range of specialists and has already produced a definite reaction even before being discussed at government level. Today we are publishing an item prepared by experts at the Russian Federation President's Administration Social Policy Analysis Center.

The theme of the document is the strengthening of state influence over the economy. In this sense, as the authors themselves state, the program is in keeping with the conclusions of the "roundtable," the declaration of national economic consensus, and the materials of the All-Russia Economic Conference.

The government program should have contained specific mechanisms for solving the most acute economic problems noted in the "roundtable" materials and the declaration—the curbing of inflation and the reduction of the budget deficit, which would make it possible to control the economic situation on market-economy principles without permitting a conscious or unconscious restoration of the former administrative system.

It is obvious that a list prioritizing the measures to be taken will be needed in order to successfully implement reform. In this respect there are doubts about the structure of economic priorities proposed in the program. Pride of place is given to the task of ending the production slump, increasing investment activity (primarily at the state's expense), and ensuring economic growth of the level of 2-3 percent in 1995. It seems that if financial and budget stabilization is not achieved or inflation curbed, the mechanisms proposed in the draft for a segment-based policy [selektivnaya politika) based on targeted financing and tax concessions cannot be effectively implemented, will be inflationary, and will not have the desired effect.

The program's main thrust—its social orientation—is not backed up by anything else. The authors have failed to present a clear and targeted social policy—and it is clear that, regrettably, they did not even set themselves this goal. For objective reasons the government's ability to increase the social orientation of economic policy is severely limited. Solving this problem by boosting the budget deficit and pumping worthless money into the economy will compound the economic crisis still further.

The declarations about social protection for the entire population do not correspond to the state's economic potential in general. We can talk only about protection for the poor and economically incapable sections of the population. The government does not have the right to make promises it cannot keep. A better-founded approach would be to propose measures to ensure the economic activity of the able-bodied population and their employment.

From this standpoint, the section of the program dealing with the employment problem—which is the second most serious problem after inflation—is beyond criticism. This area is one of the most backward—the mechanisms which ought to start working in the event of restructuring and mass bankruptcies of inefficient enterprises have to all intents and purposes not been prepared. Consequently, the government has been forced to turn a blind eye to hidden unemployment which, according to existing estimates (based on the calculation of lost work time due to stoppages of production and the

switch to a shorter working week), has reached the level of 10-12 million. Incidentally, it is not at all clear just how an employment policy can be implemented across the entire country in the context of a federal setup and the spreading regionalization process.

The restriction on earnings proposed in the program has been proved by world experience to be an effective anti-inflation measure. But it needs to be implemented in conjunction with other measures of economic regulation. By itself it will have no impact.

The authors of the program have failed to grasp the role of the system of social partnership, which is reduced to the activity of the Russian Trilateral Commission. At the same time, this sphere should attract the special attention of all institutions of power, since—as world experience in implementing anticrisis programs shows—it creates the prerequisites for social peace and political stabilization.

It is not clear what guided the authors in defining the problem of privatization in the structure of reform priorities, and examining this problem in the section devoted to questions of investment activity. The program's proposals in this area are well known and are obviously there for effect. At the same time, the privatization process has gone too far [to be reversed], and we would like to see in the program a list of specific measures disclosing the policy on privatization, and to hear exhaustive answers to the criticism, not least from the legislature, about the progress of privatization. This applies above all to the relationship between privatization and antimonopoly measures, a segment-based policy, and the formation of a modern institutional environment to ensure that the competitiveness of basic economic sectors is improved.

Similar observations can also be made about the sections relating to financial, credit, and monetary policy. These sections of the program contain declarations that are common knowledge, are not very specific, and whose truth is beyond doubt. At the same time, there is a complete lack of any mechanism which could move these provisions out of the realm of good intentions and into the sphere of realistic economic policy.

There ought to be a more clear-cut definition of the aim of pricing policy. The regulation of existing prices by various methods will be unable to perceptibly slow inflation. Moreover, a number of the administrative-legal measures proposed in the program could help to crank it up. This applies in particular to the proposal that prices be regulated by executive organs. Price regulation would be sensible if it eliminated the existing imbalances in the prices of basic products and services or if it helped us to more quickly overcome the practice of price subsidies and to cut the budget deficit.

At the same time, the program also contains some quite well-considered sections relating to the management of state enterprises and the role and place of federal programs. But, despite the authors' stated demand for the principle of a systematic approach to be observed, they have entirely ignored this rule, overloading the document with compilations of various and often mutually exclusive proposals.

In our view, the program should have presented quite a brief plan containing a list of specific measures and a timetable for financial stabilization. When such measures are being elaborated we should not be guided by any ideological motives. The contents of the program should be brought to the attention of the country's entire population. It is also necessary to openly state and explain the possible social costs of a tough stabilization policy. Otherwise, the prospects of reviving the Russian economy will be very hazy.

On the whole, the document does not meeter the aforesaid demands and gives the impression of being an ordinary response, drawn up in the space of just four days, to a routine government directive.

## Political Issues

### Vladislavlev Says Coup 'Highly Likely'

*PM0608170093 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 First Edition p 3*

[Interview with Aleksandr Vladislavlev, founder member of Civic Union and the Renewal party, by Aleksey Vorobyev; place and date not given; under the "Standpoint" rubric: "Aleksandr Vladislavlev: Coup d'Etat Highly Likely"]

[Text] In the past year Aleksandr Vladislavlev, one of the founders of Civic Union and the Renewal party, has become a notable figure in the political landscape, taking his place firmly among Russia's leading politicians. Our correspondent discusses the political situation in the country with him.

[Vorobyev] Aleksandr Pavlovich, we have met before during periods of deterioration in the political situation in the country, and you have usually taken the view that there is no special reason for concern or for immediate emergency actions. Is your position equally optimistic today?

[Vladislavlev] Probably for the first time in the eight years of Russia's reform, I now have grim forebodings. The country faces a real threat of paralysis of the central power. The denouement of this crisis could take such an ugly form that all our bright goals and democratic ideals will be buried.

The team that is in power is absolutely incapable of getting a grip on the situation and setting the creative process in motion. Whatever sphere of its activity you take, everywhere it is a total fiasco. A disastrous mistake was made in choosing the economic reform concept. Manipulating finances in a country where it was not money that was acting as the economic regulator is senseless and, as is now clear to everyone, futile.

Contrary to logic and common sense, they started a race to adopt a new Constitution, although the three fundamental questions of Russia's statehood not only have no solutions, but it is actually dangerous today even to try to impose answers to them. These are the conflict between components of the Federation, the conflict between those same components and the organs of self-government, and, finally, the conflict between individual rights and freedoms and the right of nations to self-determination, and consequently between those rights and freedoms and the national-state structure.

Ways of resolving these problems are only just beginning to take shape. Powerful regions are now clearly emerging, capable of tackling their own economic and social problems independently.

For instance, I have just come back from the Urals, where I took part in a discussion of the options for the unification of Sverdlovsk, Perm, and Kurgan Oblasts. But this takes time, because all this is very important. Let us think again, and stop this senseless, eternal urge to pull the country this way and that.

Answers can only come from gradual progress along the path of democratic development. To tackle all these problems now, at the height of a general crisis, by any arbitrary means, would be to bring about the disintegration of Russia.

The country lacks an international policy concept, Russia's traditional allies are lost and no new ones have been acquired. There is no military doctrine, and without that, the military-industrial complex collapses.

In this situation I think there are various possible scenarios. First and foremost, a coup d'etat is highly likely: Either B. Yeltsin and his team will act against everyone else, or a coup will be carried out against the president and his colleagues, or else the Kremlin team will itself rise up against Yeltsin. For this last option, in my view, very many of the prerequisites exist today, for the first time. The "team's" chief ideologists are already stating frankly that the potential for cooperation with the president is exhausted and the radical democrats must rely only on their own forces.

Any attempt to overcome the crisis by strong-arm methods will not meet with support in the localities, and will lead to the speedy disintegration of the country. It could even drag it into the bloodshed of civil war. After all, the Kremlin team will not only defend its own power to the last, it will be fighting for its life.

Another version of events is also pessimistic: If the present situation is preserved without changing anything, while sensible people look on with indifference, then the country risks very rapid decay and disintegration. It is like constant showdowns between members of a ship's crew when the ship is already being swept toward the fathomless depths by a powerful current that is subject to no one's command.

[Vorobyev] You have painted a rather gloomy picture, although it is hard to disagree. One could even add many dark brush strokes to the picture. But do you see any way out of the quagmire we are all floundering in?

[Vladislavlev] I think there is a way out. It is to set up a powerful political coalition in the country, quickly and resolutely, with the broadest possible representation. It could include sensible members of the Cabinet of Ministers, parliamentarians, and political parties aware of their responsibility for the country's fate.

Of course, this is not easy. But I cannot help remembering that familiar image from Kipling: When a great drought sets in and great disaster threatens everyone, the animals that go to the water hole do not attack each other—a great truce is declared. Facing the threat of common disaster, I believe we not only can, but must come to terms.

[Vorobyev] People have been talking about such a coalition, some kind of national consensus pact, for a long time, but they do not manage to form one. The possible participants' objectives are too different, and even on the brink of catastrophe for the state, many of them are unwilling to waive their personal interests. The "power party," which is directly threatened, tries even harder to wreck such a coalition, by every possible means. Can you offer any resistance?

[Vladislavlev] The main delusion of the so-called presidential entourage is that they are sure that the groupings representing the political center, management professionals, and pragmatists will continue to look on indifferently and will not dare to take any resolute steps. But a different trend is emerging. The majority of state enterprise directors and big entrepreneurs have realized that things cannot go on like this, and they are prepared to go into politics and "impose order."

They are not yet in any hurry to bring millions of people out on strike, and indeed that is not in their nature. These are not destructive people, they are constructive. But faced with extreme need they will do this quickly and on a very large scale. I can tell you that authoritatively.

Probably the key question here is whether the prime minister has the political will to reorganize the government and make it into a team of like-minded people. If he is capable of doing that, then he is guaranteed broad support from the Russian industrialists and entrepreneurs. If he cannot...

A certain lack of resolve on V. Chernomyrdin's part can be explained at the moment in terms of his total lack of protection, the absence of powerful political support. He realizes that at any moment members of the president's team could make him a "scapegoat." In these circumstances, it is time the premier defined his position.

[Vorobyev] Doubts are currently being expressed about the extent of the political influence of Renewal and Civic Union, there has even been talk of some kind of split?..

[Vladislavlev] I would venture to assert that Civic Union was, is, and will be, and will almost certainly win any honest elections. The two main opposing forces, Democratic Russia and the communists, lack substantial support in society, according to our surveys of the situation in the regions. The outcome of the elections will be substantially influenced by regional leaders, enterprise directors, and big entrepreneurs. They are the ones who have close links with Renewal and with Civic Union. My trip to the Urals confirmed me in this view. And they will form the basis of the new party we are forming, which, together with its partners, will strengthen Civic Union.

At a certain stage the Civic Union leaders made the mistake of being seduced by the idea of "purity of ranks" and the creation of a close-knit organization of like-minded people, instead of constantly bringing more and more new forces into the alliance. We are now overcoming these mistakes.

[Vorobyev] The figure of Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will apparently be one of the mainstays of the future coalition?

[Vladislavlev] It is not ruled out. The vice president, who was deliberately driven into hard-line opposition by members of the presidential team, is gradually coming back to the idea of cooperation with the head of the executive.

Furthermore, although B. Yeltsin's ardent supporters demand A. Rutskoy's resignation, it is paradoxical but true that by keeping his post, Rutskoy is today protecting the president! I am sure that the political adventurers who surround Boris Nikolayevich have a scheme for seizing power. And the presence of the vice president, the man who, on a sound legal basis, should replace the head of state if anything happens, is preventing the implementation of plans for a putsch.

In conclusion, I would like to call on those politicians whose adventurist actions are today dragging the country toward bloodshed to come to their senses! We are on the verge of very grave and unpredictable events. But whoever first fans the flame of political provocations and civil clashes is usually the first to burn up in that flame.

Does not our great country's history show us—those who care about Russia's fate—the way to unity in the face of a common disaster?

## Shumeyko Assesses Political Opposition

*MK0608114693 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 40, 6 Aug 93 (signed to press 5 Aug) p 2*

[Natalya Gorodetskaya report under the "Scandal" rubric: "Vladimir Shumeyko Asserts He 'Has No Political Opponents'"]

[Text] Mr. Shumeyko convened a "roundtable for Russian and foreign journalists" on Wednesday several weeks after Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy accused First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko of corruption and the parliamentary speaker promised that the Supreme Soviet would pass a special law to "remove Shumeyko." During the roundtable, Vladimir Filippovich told the journalists good-naturedly that he has no "personal political enemies," and he assessed the campaign launched against him as a "political gamble," a "standoff of two political systems," and a desire "to eliminate an opponent at any cost." According to him, this standoff must end only in new elections—parliamentary elections at first, followed by presidential elections. New politicians could then solve "entirely new tasks." Although the struggle "between the new and the old" "has become extremely tense" today, a forcible solution to the conflict in a country where there are "a large group of nuclear power stations, many hazardous chemical production installations, and, simply put, all types of techno-genetic things" is categorically inadmissible.

The first vice premier intimated that he had drawn up all the documents necessary to bring the Russian vice president to court, but that he would not go to court with Mr. Rutskoy "as a political opponent, but as a citizen."

Vladimir Shumeyko categorically dismissed the possibility of the government's resignation in connection with rumored corruption among the Council of Ministers, even more so because the only direct corruption charge has been leveled at Mr. Shumeyko. Still, the first vice premier thought "personnel changes" are possible soon. The more so, in his opinion, as there is an urgent need for a "reorganization of the central bodies of state power"—"some of the bodies would have to be dropped, some would have to be merged." Should the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet make a decision to dismiss the government, Mr. Shumeyko remarked, "that would be its own decision." Today, relations between the Supreme Soviet and the government "have become impossible to the degree that one can only appeal to the Congress."

## Yeltsin Pardons Official Jailed for Corruption

*LD0608162993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0800 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] The Eurasia Information Agency has reported that Yuriy Churbanov has been pardoned following a decree issued by the Russian president. The decree reached Nizhnyy Tagil 11 days later. He has served over six of his 12-year sentence for the so-called Uzbek affair. Churbanov returned to Moscow immediately after being freed.

## Military Issues

### Leaders To Address Meeting on Protection of Servicemen

*LD0908053493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0330 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] An All-Russian meeting on the social protection of servicemen is opening in Moscow today. Vitaliy Urazhtsev, head of the Army Reform deputies' group, reveals what the participants will be discussing at the meeting.

[Urazhtsev] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov will deliver a speech. Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Aleksandr Korovnikov, chairman of the Committee for the Social Protection of Servicemen, are scheduled to deliver reports. Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, and representatives from other power ministries, including the Security and internal affairs ministries, are also expected to speak at the meeting.

Obviously, there will be a large audience of about 500 people present at the meeting. Heads of military collectives from okrugs, groups of forces, fleets, commanders of branches of the Armed Forces have been invited to take part. Leaders of the soviets of all levels have also been invited to come to the meeting. At present the main issues on the agenda are housing, salaries, professional training and the employment of servicemen and citizens who have retired from the forces. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Our correspondent has been accredited to attend the meeting and we will give you details in Mayak's afternoon panorama.

### Yeltsin Appoints Nikolayev Commander of Border Troops

*LD0708075393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] The press service of the Russian president has announced that Boris Yeltsin has appointed Andrey Nikolayev commander of the Border Troops. He was a first deputy head of the Russian Armed Forces General Staff before his present appointment.

### Military Accommodation Program 'Collapsing'

*LD0808124593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By correspondent Ostrovskiy; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Unidentified colonel] How many years will it be before I get an apartment?

[Ostrovskiy] The state program for providing the military with accommodation is collapsing. The Finance Ministry is not allocating money to military builders, and the figure of 120,000 apartment-less troops withdrawn from overseas, graduates from military academies and contract servicemen, threatens to rise to 400,000—plus 120,000 who have been fired from the Army without accommodation. It is for this reason that the state program for withdrawing troops from overseas is also under threat. In the next couple of years in Russia there will quite literally be a half-million-strong homeless army with weapons in its hands.

Nikolay Vasilyevich, it's a holiday [Builders Day] today, but I can see you're not exactly in a festive mood.

[Colonel General N.V. Chekov, officer in command construction and allocation of accommodation for the armed forces of the Russian Federation—caption] There has been no improvement on the most important issue, the financing of capital construction. What is more, if in April, May and June our debts ran at over 50 billion [figure only as heard] a month, they have now grown to exceed 200 billion. So what sort of mood should I be in, when the debts I am talking about are in effect paralyzing the whole construction program? [Video shows soldiers on building site, Chekov interviewed in office]

### Army Movement Wants New Constitution

*MK0708082493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 2*

[Pavel Anokhin report under the "Democrats" rubric: "The Army is Weary. Participants in the 'Military Men for Democracy' and the Russian 'Shchit' Union Have Demanded Early Parliamentary and Presidential Elections"]

[Text] This was intimated by their representatives, Major General Vladimir Dudnik and Nikolay Moskovchenko, at yesterday's news conference. In their opinion, it is necessary for the president to obtain passage of a new constitution or any other constitutional act providing a basis for lifting the country out of crisis. "The military are following with anguish and unease the sharpening confrontation between the executive and legislative branches. The armed forces, torn by political differences and enmeshed in political battles, are losing their combat readiness and are in a process of disintegration. The army, like all of Russian society, is weary of the protracted rivalry," stresses the statement by members of these public organizations. It was also pointed out at the news conference that there is no political foundation today in the country for legitimate actions by either side. This being the case, the "Military Men for Democracy" movement and the "Shchit" union propose that Boris Yeltsin take over not only personal responsibility for the constitutional process, but also take power. Having set in motion the passage of a new constitution, after its adoption the president should resign and hand over power to a collective body—a state council.

## Supreme Soviet

### 6 Aug Session Views Sociopolitical Situation

*LD0608153093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1100 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[text] The Russian parliament gathered today for a joint sitting of the chambers to give its assessment of the sociopolitical situation in the country.

When discussing today's agenda at the Russian parliament, a debate arose regarding the duration of the present extraordinary session. It is known that it was convened to approve a decree by the Russian president on extending the state of emergency in the Ossetian-Ingush conflict zone. A number of deputies were insisting that the session should be restricted to today only, but Ruslan Khasbulatov, the speaker of the parliament, stated: Abandon your hopes, we are extending the session.

The Supreme Soviet has approved a proposal by Deputy Sayenko. First, to instruct the chairman of the parliament to address President Boris Yeltsin with a request to appoint a well-known state or military figure as the head of the Russian organizational committee for preparations for and holding of festivities to mark the 50th anniversary of the Victory and other anniversaries of the Great Fatherland War, instead of First Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, who was appointed by the presidential decree.

Second, to include an issue on the agenda on additional measures to ensure the safety of officials, who are being sent to state of emergency regions in North Caucasus.

A decision was also adopted to show the Parlamentskiy Chas [Parliament Hour] television program with the participation of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, which cited information regarding the corruption of former officials, on the Ostankino First Channel.

Today parliamentarians also plan to discuss a session's draft decision on the Central Bank decision to withdraw bank notes issued in 1961-1992 from circulation and to return to the issue on introducing amendments to the law on the Council of Ministers.

### Ministries Told To Protect Officials

*LD0608122593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Today's joint sitting of the chambers of the Russian Supreme Soviet opened with a moment of silence in honor of the memory of Viktor Polyanichko, Anatoliy Karetskiy, and Viktor Kravchuk, who have tragically died in North Ossetia. Ruslan Khasbulatov expressed sincere condolences on behalf of the Supreme Soviet to the friends and relatives of the dead men.

ITAR-TASS reports that the Supreme Soviet has adopted a resolution instructing the Russian power ministries to adopt additional measures to ensure the security of officials involved in the North Caucasus peace mission and the security of republican leaders in this region.

### Session To Continue Through Summer

*LD0608151093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1220 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Report by Vera Shchelkunova; from the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] Good day. I should like to report that the Russian Supreme Soviet which, as you may recall, was convened a week ago for a one-day extraordinary session will probably now continue to sit through the whole of August and September. Ruslan Khasbulatov has definitely indicated this by saying that this will just be a continuation of the 7th session, because there is a lot of work to do and it cannot be all accomplished even if the parliament sits four times a week. However, with all this volume of work, the deputies will only sit once a week—at least, it was said today that the next session will be held next Friday.

Today such urgent questions as the laws on animal and plant breeding were discussed and solved. These were put to vote with a multitude of amendments regarding artificial insemination techniques and privatization of the flats by workers of the animal breeding enterprises." [passage omitted]

Anatoliy Chubays, chairman of the state property committee, said in an interview to Mayak that such a step could be predicted and this is why...

[Begin Chubays recording] An answer, a firm answer is already being prepared, it actually exists. It is perfectly clear that neither this decision, nor any other similar decisions taken by the Supreme Soviet will never force the president or the government to refuse to guarantee the rights of the citizens to take part in privatization. I shall remind you, incidentally, that what was revoked is a decree on additional measures for protection of the rights of citizens to privatization. This decree was really necessary. As the previous decree, which also revoked, this decree has given impetus to this process and offered people un opportunity to use their privatization vouchers and turn them into some real property. We certainly have prepared an unequivocal and firm answer to this present decision of the Supreme Soviet. We shall adopt it within 3-4 days. I believe that this time around it is unlikely that there will be any fall in the price of vouchers, not even 10 per cent." [passage omitted]

Incidentally, Gerashchenko has submitted to the Supreme Soviet a paper where he outlines the reasons, the procedure and the consequences of the bank notes-changing exercise in full detail. The paper ends with words to the effect that this decision, on the whole, was

aimed at protecting the interests of the Russian Federation and creating a civilized foundation for broadening up the economic and financial integration with the CIS states. We do not know yet how and when this issue will be discussed, but just now I have learned that at Gerashchenko's request this question will be examined at a closed sitting. This concludes my report from the Supreme Soviet.

### Session Views Bank Note Withdrawal

*LD0608165493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] ITAR-TASS reports that at a closed session on 6 August, the Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution on the Central Bank decision to withdraw from circulation treasury notes and bank notes issued between 1961 and 1992. The document points out, inter alia, that the mechanism established for withdrawing the old style bank notes from circulation was set by the Central Bank in agreement with the government and president, but was not agreed in the appropriate manner with the Supreme Soviet. As a result, the resolution stresses, the constitutional rights of Russian Federation citizens were infringed, as well as Russia's international legal obligations toward member states of the CIS.

The Supreme Soviet has instructed the Central Bank to carry out the withdrawal from circulation of 1961-1992 bank notes only in accordance with the procedure laid down in the relevant legal enactments, and in so doing to ensure citizens their legitimate guarantees.

Furthermore, the government and the bank have been instructed within one month to conduct negotiations and conclude the appropriate agreements with CIS member states that have announced the desire to use the Russian Federation ruble as a legal means of payment.

The Supreme Soviet decreed in a separate point that it should be considered inexpedient to include the Central Bank chairman as a member of the government.

### Leaders Blamed for Bank Note Exchange

*LD0608204293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] INTERFAX reports that during discussions held behind closed doors, Supreme Soviet Chairman Khasbulatov held President Yeltsin, Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, Deputy Prime Minister Boris Fedorov, and Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko personally responsible for the exchange carried out.

Boris Fedorov said the Finance Ministry did indeed suggest demarcating the cash circulation between the republics of the former Union; however, this should have been done in a civilized manner.

In turn, Viktor Gerashchenko denied that a reform is being carried out. In his opinion, this expression is inaccurate because there is a question only of the exchange of bank notes.

The AFP news agency sees today's events in parliament as an attempt by Khasbulatov to split the government.

Another resolution adopted today by our legislators suspends the president's July decree on additional measures to protect citizens' rights to take part in privatization. The decree will be examined by the Constitutional Court. However, Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays spoke of thousands of protests from directors of enterprises, joint-stock companies, and citizens, and announced that the government will take countermeasures to prevent this resolution, which is lacking in common sense, from taking effect.

### Baburin Interviewed on Conflict in North Caucasus

*MK0708092093 Moscow FEDERATSIYA in Russian No. 88, 7 Aug 93 (signed to press 6 Aug 93) p 2*

[Interview with Sergey Baburin, Supreme Soviet deputy and member of the Commission for the Settlement of the Ingush-Ossetian Conflict, by Aleksandr Kastravets; place and date not given: "Sergey Baburin: 'We Should Look For the Roots of the Caucasus Crisis Not Only in the Caucasus'"]

[Text] Your FEDERATSIYA correspondent has met with Sergey Baburin, Russian Federation Supreme Soviet deputy and member of the Commission for the Settlement of the Ingush-Ossetian Conflict, who visited the North Caucasus last week. The interview focused on the situation in southern Russia after the tragic events of 1 August. S.N. Baburin has the floor:

[Baburin] Viktor Petrovich Polyanichko could have provided the North Caucasus with an opportunity to overcome the crisis. He showed in practice that he was able to speak the same language with the most intransigent opponents and make them comply with agreements reached. He could always detect the essence behind appearances. I shared his hopes for change, hopes which were also aroused among the Ingush and the Ossetians by Viktor Polyanichko's appointment as provisional administration chief. Alas, his tragic death makes it impossible for Viktor Petrovich to carry out his plans. The All- Russian People's Union and the people's deputies of the "Russia" parliamentary faction are certain that it is all-Caucasian and all- Russian political circles with mafia links that stand behind the assassination. They dealt a blow against the Russian government's timid attempts to launch a decisive struggle against the forces of the mafia and corruption by relying on professionals advocating the interests of the state.

[Kastravets] Could you be more specific: what forces are you speaking about?

[Baburin] I can only surmise because I am not conducting the investigation; but Viktor Polyanichko's death is a most severe blow for both the Ingush and the Ossetians. If you ask yourself the question: "Who gained from Viktor Polyanichko's death?"—I will answer as follows: This death is yet another step along the path of Russia's destabilization.

[Kastravets] What are your personal impressions from meetings in the North Caucasus? In what regions might tensions increase in the near future?

[Baburin] I visited Kabardino-Balkaria, where I met with the leaders of the Caucasus Peoples' Confederation, the Kabardin People's Congress, the Balkar People's National Council, and also with leaders of the Cossacks and the Russian-speaking Congress. We discussed the role that public organizations have to play in the settlement of the Ingush-Ossetian conflict and problems related to the outflux of Russians from the North Caucasus. At one of the meetings, a Balkar girl, who introduced herself as a historian, formulated perhaps the chief reason for our troubles: "In order to stabilize the situation in the North Caucasus, Russia must reemerge as a great power. Once this occurs and once you bring order to Moscow, the situation will change for the better, and drastically so." And everybody agreed with her. We should look for the roots of the Caucasus crisis not only in the Caucasus.

[Kastravets] Sergey Nikolayevich, there is another school of thought, however, claiming that had Russia used force when the Chechen Republic was being set up, there would have been no conflicts in the North Caucasus today...

[Baburin] This viewpoint is very superficial. But had Russia showed its strength when the legitimate Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic was overthrown and when attempts were made under the flag of the struggle against communist regimes in the North Caucasus to establish the power of different political forces there—then, indeed, the fire would not have flared up. But it was enough to break the law once by abolishing the highest body of representative power in Chechen-Ingushetia to give rise to a chain of lawlessness, followed by violence and terror.

Those who come after Viktor Polyanichko have a burdensome legacy, so restoring peace and accord will not be an easy task—for destruction is always easier.

[Kastravets] The situation in the North Caucasus largely depends on subjective factors, on the stances of the current powers that be.

[Baburin] Yes, I saw this when I visited the Kabardino-Balkar Republic. After my meeting with the leaders of the Russian-speaking Congress in the city of Prokhladnyy, I received an unusual request: "Please embrace in Nalchik on our behalf President Kokov and Supreme Soviet Chairman Karmokov—we are thankful for their efforts to maintain peace in the republic."

Kabardino-Balkaria is a sort of Caucasian Switzerland, and not only from a political point of view. I do not idealize the situation. In Kabardino-Balkaria, too, there are disagreements among leaders of various political forces, but there is peace and calm there thanks to the republic's incumbent leadership, who are actually fortifying centuries-old traditions of living as a multiethnic family.

If we compare the Big Caucasian Ridge with a fuse that was lit in Groznyy, then the progress of the fire toward a powder keg is being blocked by Kabardino-Balkaria.

## Regional Affairs

### Assassination Attempt on Chechen Leader Dudayev

*LD0808132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1315 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By CHECHENPRESS for TASS]

[Text] Groznyy August 8 TASS—An attempt on the life of the Chechen President Dzhokhar Dudayev was made in Groznyy last night. At four a.m., unidentified persons who arrived in three cars fired at the ninth story of the government house where Dudayev's office is situated. Two of Dudayev's bodyguards were wounded during the exchange of fire. Dudayev was unhurt. Later the same group fired at the building of the Republic's Interior Ministry. An officer of the traffic police was wounded by terrorists at one of traffic police posts in Groznyy.

### Dudayev Issues Statement

*LD0808164593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1555 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—In connection with an attempt on his life last night, President of the Chechen Republic Dzhokhar Dudayev issued a statement saying that neither threats nor acts of terrorism will compel him to abandon his chosen road.

The investigation committee of the Chechen Republic has instituted criminal proceedings in connection with the attempt on the president's life.

### Yerin Arrives in Ossetian-Ingush Emergency Zone

*LD0908110993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1025 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 9 Aug—Viktor Yerin, Russian internal affairs minister, arrived in the restricted state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia today. He is to acquaint himself with the situation on the ground, the sociopolitical situation in the region, and the progress of the investigation into the circumstances of the murders of Viktor Polyanichko,

Anatoliy Koretskiy, and Viktor Kravchuk which took place near the Tarskoye settlement.

A large group of investigators is continuing its investigation in order to find out more details about this crime. Several versions of events have been put forward. In the words of Major General Aleksandr Khodov, the secretary of North Ossetia's Security Council, "at the moment, only one thing is clear. This action was well-planned." However we still do not know who organized and executed it. Aleksandr Khodov is not satisfied with the progress of the investigation into the circumstances of the tragedy. The Volga car that was fired upon was only examined in detail on the third day, he emphasized.

Colonel Pavel Russkiy, a military lawyer working for the temporary administration, said in an interview with the SEVERNYY KAVKAZ newspaper that the temporary administration has heard seven different versions of the circumstances of the murders. In his words, "experience would seem to suggest that the investigative group will find it very difficult to track down the murderers, if they manage to do it at all."

### Curfew Introduced in Prigorodnyy Rayon

*LD0708190293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz, 7 Aug—The operational situation controlled by Russia's peacekeeping forces in the restricted state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia remains extremely difficult. Nevertheless, today's figures from the republic's Security Council confirm that over the last 24 hours, no exchanges of fire have been registered, nor have there been any local flare-ups of armed confrontation on interethnic grounds and no attacks upon militia and army checkpoints.

Given the deterioration of the crime situation, the considerable increase in the use of firearms and explosives, especially at night, and the increasing incidents of violation of the state of emergency regulations, interim administration head Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin has ordered a curfew to be introduced from 7 August in the village of Chermen, Prigorodnyy Rayon—the center of the armed conflict—from 2300 to 0500 hours every day.

Leaders of the republican parliament, the Council of Ministers of North Ossetia, and the republican Security Council had a meeting today with representatives of North Ossetia's public movements, parties, and ethnic cultural centers. The situation in the region was discussed in the context of the joint statement by the Russian president and prime minister to the peoples of North Ossetia and Ingushetia.

"The path to peace in the region is not by way of confrontation but by way of peaceful negotiations and mutual compromise—Akhsarbek Galazov, head of North Osetia's parliament, said at the meeting today. In these difficult days in the republic, what is needed is consolidation, cohesiveness, and unity of the representatives of the almost 100 peoples living in North Ossetia. The issue of territorial re-allotment of land must be removed from the agenda in the North Caucasus. There are now about 40 'hot spots' in the region, connected with re-allotment of territory. If any redrawing of borders begins, this will lead to another unforeseeable tragedy."

### Shatalin Tours Rayon

*LD0708195093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Yuriy Shatalin, head of the interim administration, visited the village of Mayskiy in Prigorodnyy Rayon today. The Ossetian side is proposing that this village should be made into a settlement populated predominantly by Ingush people. We shall have to wait and see what the Ingush side's reaction to that is. According to a proposal by the joint commission, in the first phase, four settlements could be used to house refugees, but this idea has not met with any support so far.

Yuriy Shatalin also visited the fields of Prigorodnyy Rayon. The harvest is being gathered here, however, the peasants are being obstructed by bandit formations. [passage omitted]

### Reward Offered for Information on Polyanichko Murder

*LD0808125293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1159 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Moscow, 8 Aug (ITAR-TASS)—A 2-million-ruble reward has been promised for information which will help find those responsible for organizing and carrying out the murder of Viktor Polyanichko, Anatoliy Koretskiy, and Viktor Kravchuk, or individuals for whom this crime benefitted. This was announced today by Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, acting head of the temporary administration in the state of emergency zone on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia, in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

In Yuriy Shatalin's words, the operational situation in the state of emergency zone following the murder of Viktor Polyanichko has markedly deteriorated. To date 32 representatives of Russia's Armed Forces and Interior Ministry have been killed in the emergency zone. Moreover, from 1 January until the present time, 57 people have been killed as a result of inter-ethnic clashes. However, not one of these cases has been solved.

Yuriy Shatalin believes his main task is to stop any chance of a large-scale conflict developing. However, should this danger arise, he is ready to give the appropriate order to the forces entrusted to him without

waiting for Moscow to sanction it. "I will always take on this responsibility," he said.

### North Ossetians Declare Shakhray 'Deadly Enemy'

*MK0708091093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 3*

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "North Ossetia"]

[Text] Russian Vice Premier Sergey Shakhray, who did not return to Vladikavkaz after the talks in Terek but instead immediately took a plane to Moscow, was declared a deadly enemy of the Ossetian people at the meeting continuing outside the Supreme Soviet building [in Vladikavkaz].

The rally has demanded security for the population and punishment for the assassins attacking North Ossetia residents. Rather sharp words are being directed at the Russian troops attached to the temporary administration who have allegedly failed to secure the citizens' safety.

Speaking at the meeting was Yuriy Biragov, deputy chairman of the republic's Supreme Soviet. He informed the gathering about the progress of the talks on the Ossete-Ingush conflict in the town of Terek, and called on the population to show prudence. Biragov voiced great regret at the fact that the talks of the mixed commission have become deadlocked again owing to the tragic incident in North Ossetia's Progorodnyy Rayon. "Should the people so wish," Biragov stated, "we are prepared to completely pull out of the talks."

### Rutskoy Arrives in Bryansk Region

*LD0808131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1249 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Artyushin]

[Text] Bryansk August 8 TASS— Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, who is currently on a tour of Russia's provinces, arrived on Sunday [8 August] in the Bryansk region in central Russia, where he is expected to stay for three days.

### Criticizes Yeltsin, Government

*LD0808200793 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In Bryansk today, Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy again criticized the work of the Russian leadership.

[Correspondent A. Anufrikov] Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy began his three-day visit to Bryanshchina today. He defined the main aim of the visit as the study of public opinion. Aleksandr Rutskoy makes no secret of his own opinion of the president and the government.

[Begin Rutskoy recording] They have robbed everybody. They have taken people's hard earned savings, money that people have saved penny by penny, and they are pretending that this is economic reform. I was elected a people's deputy. Everybody started from the soviets, and today mud is being thrown at the soviets. They say that it is not the sovereignty of the people, that they have not been legitimate since 1918. [end recording]

[Anufrikov] Evidently, such and similar descriptions will set the tone for talks during the vice president's meeting with the Bryanshchina population. Your correspondent was also reproved for the "Vesti" program not devoting sufficient attention to important Russian events.

### Rutskoy Visits Belgorod, Says Russia 'Has a Way Out'

*LD0608174593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Konorev]

Belgorod August 6 TASS—Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told Belgorod public today Russia still "has a way out".

In his opinion, the state head should find a common language with the parliament. Rutskoy admitted the current councils of people's deputies are imperfect, and called for their reorganization through the creation of a new system of legislative power.

Another thing to do is general elections on the basis of a new law on elections of people's deputies and presidential elections.

In Rutskoy's words, Russia now needs four priorities: foodstuffs, a housing program, health care and consumer goods. These measures would pull Russia from the economic deadend within three or four years, said the vice-president.

### Soskovets Urges 'Normal Rules' Between Center, Regions

*PM0608161393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Aug 93 First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report under the general heading "The Position of a Government Member"; part of a full-page feature entitled "How Will We Live in Future?": "Oleg Soskovets: Last Year's Errors Must Not Be Repeated"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] "The Russian Government has no right to repeat its errors of last year." Russian Federation First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets declared this in Belgorod while addressing oblast and city soviet deputies and representatives of executive authorities and the public. In particular he classed groundless hopes for

foreign financial injections, credits, and investment in the production sphere among these errors. "We have forgotten that we have fed ourselves all our lives, and the sooner we remember this the sooner we will bring order to our own industrial and agricultural sectors," he stressed.

In Oleg Soskovets' view, the material basis for normal life in Russia lies within the country itself. The most important thing, in his view, consists in working out "normal rules of the game" between the center and the regions.

### Tatarstan's Shaymiyev on Conference, Reform Process

*MK0708120493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 5*

[Indira Dunayeva report: "Russia-Tatarstan Relationship—President Shaymiyev Speaks for Broader Powers"]

[Text] Tatarstan President Mintimer Shaymiyev stated that the draft fundamental law drawn up by the Constitutional Conference provides for a federation only in words; in fact, it describes a unitary state. Appearing in yesterday's meeting with journalists organized by Radio Liberty, the republic's leader stressed that the draft contradicts the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of Tatarstan. He rejected, however, the possibility of withdrawing from Russia. According to Mr. Shaymiyev, it is the republics that are the guarantors of the country's unity. KOMMERSANT-DAILY was represented at the meeting with the Tatarstan president by correspondent Indira Dunayeva.

Explaining why Tatarstan official representatives walked out of the Constitutional Conference, Mintimer Shaymiyev said that the delegation had not wished to take part in passing a fundamental law that actually puts a seal of approval on a unitary state system. The republic's leader thought that a federation should be built by the regions rather than by Moscow. Moreover, the president doubted that it is a good idea to force the constitutional process because, in his words, as long as a national accord is not reached in the country, no new constitution is going to be observed.

He described as a latter day "scarecrow" the arguments that heightened activity by components of the federation could lead to Russia's collapse, because no one wants that today; seeing the impotence of the central authority, the regions are seeking union. The president called on the Russian authorities "not to become upset in trying to control the region's economies" and not to be afraid of delegating greater powers to federation components.

Rejecting charges of separatism, Mr. Shaymiyev stressed: "We do not speak for a withdrawal from Russia, but rather for relationships based on agreement and voluntary delegation to the center of a number of powers. Tatarstan is not going to either organize an army of its own, or build a border, or quit the ruble zone."

Answering a question from NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on the chances for a military coup in Moscow and the federation components' stance on the matter, Mintimer Shaymiyev sharply condemned differences not only between the powers of federal authority, but also the absence of unitary views in the government on the progress of economic reform. "If something should upset stability, this would be the fault of the top authorities, the Tatarstan president stressed. The republics, krays, and oblasts, on the contrary, would be a factor of stability."

Mintimer Shaymiyev drew the journalists' attention to the fact that interaction of all the branches of power is a condition for consistent implementation of reforms. In his words, Tatarstan has succeeded not only in achieving a smooth operation and interaction between the representative and executive structures, but also in securing nationwide support for the course of the republic's president, parliament, and government. Mr. Shaymiyev described as one of his policy's achievements the fact that the Russian population regards the organs of Tatarstan's state power as guarantors of their rights. The president voiced confidence that the centrist "Yedinstvo i Progress" [Unity and Progress] party set up in Kazan the other day was going to emerge as the most powerful political movement in the republic.

As for the economic situation in the republic, Mintimer Shaymiyev thought that the strategy of a "soft" entry into a market-based economy proclaimed 18 months ago had justified itself. According to Mr. Shaymiyev, there has not been the slightest snag over the period in providing the population with food while citizens' incomes have never sunk below the subsistence line. The production of meat, milk, and eggs went up 14 to 16 percent during the first seven months of 1993. Inhabitants of the republic received after 1 August registered privatization checks worth 30,000 rubles each in addition to those provided by Russia. In the opinion of Mintimer Shaymiyev, all of Russia will come to realize the need for a gradual transition to a market economy.

### Details of Accident at Chelyabinsk Defense Plant

*LD0608130393 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Report by Sergey Sergeyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] We have previously reported on the accident which occurred at the Mayak chemical combine, a major defense enterprise in Chelyabinsk Oblast, on 17 July. What are the consequences of the radiation outburst?

[Sergeyev] The following thing happened: a container at a plutonium-238 radioisotope purifying plant lost sealing, and alpha- particle aerosol escaped through the

ventilation system into the atmosphere. According to a commission's official conclusion, the overall emission amounted to 0.2 percent of the permitted annual emission. The staff was not affected by radiation, and the premises were not damaged. The accident is rated at grade one on a seven- grade international scale, that is, insignificant. Monitoring of the territory adjacent to the shop and various areas of Chelyabinsk oblast failed to show any changes in the usual radiation background. [Video of Mayak shops; equipment]

## International Affairs

### Kuchma on Control of Nuclear Weapons, Sevastopol

*LD0908085693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] In an interview for the agency INTERFAX UKRAINA, Leonid Kuchma, prime minister of Ukraine, has rejected an accusation by Russia that Kiev is attempting to establish control [kontrol] over nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory. This accusation is contained in a statement of the Russian Government of 4 August. It is possible that Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov has plans for establishing control over the nuclear weapons, but the Ukrainian defense minister cannot do this unaided, Leonid Kuchma said.

The prime minister of Ukraine also thinks that Sevastopol must be leased to Russia. In his opinion, this will show that Russia acknowledges that the city belongs to Ukraine. Leonid Kuchma emphasized that this will also help to reduce the funds expended by Kiev on maintaining the fleet.

### Poll Indicates Support for Non-Nuclear Status

*LD0708205993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] On the whole, 49 percent of Ukrainian citizens favor Ukraine becoming a non-nuclear state. Only slightly more than one-third of the population favored its nuclear status with the preservation of nuclear weapons. This data was made public by a representative of the Institute of Sociology under the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The research showed that in the east, south, and in the Crimea, the proponents of the elimination of nuclear weapons of Ukraine, after granting it guarantees and compensations, prevail. Meanwhile, the number in favor of preserving nuclear weapons as a guarantor of security is more widespread in the west of Ukraine and in central regions.

### Yeltsin-Kravchuk Meeting on Black Sea Fleet Postponed

*LD0708161693 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1450 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Sevastopol, 7 Aug—Today Vice Admiral Borys Kozhyn, the Ukrainian naval forces commander, met with a group of journalists. Kozhyn, in particular, pointed out that the problem of the Black Sea Fleet division is the problem for politicians.

"As a commander, I have to fulfill my task, that is, to build the state naval fleet." Borys Kozhyn reported that the meeting between the presidents of Ukraine and Russia on the Black Sea issues was scheduled for 10-12 August, but it will be postponed for a later date because not all the documents have been prepared.

During this meeting, an amalgamated command of the Black Sea Fleet is to be set up. Vice Admirals Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy and Mykola Klitnyy will enter its composition on the Ukrainian side. The Ukrainian side is going to offer several different variants for the solution of the Black Sea Fleet issue.

Kozhyn said: "I am a military man; the main thing for me is the political decision by my government, no matter what decision it is, I will fulfill it."

Touching on the Sevastopol issue, Borys Kozhyn stressed that Sevastopol is an inseparable part of the Crimea and Ukraine and any revision of borders is impossible.

### Zlenko Meets Black Sea Fleet, Ukranian Officials

*LD0608214393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Simferopol—On 5 August, there was a consultative meeting of Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko with Vice Admiral Borys Kozhyn, the commander of the Naval Forces of Ukraine; Admiral Eduard Baltin, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet; Vice Admiral Volodymyr Bezkorovaynyy, representative of Ukraine's defense minister at the Naval Forces; and Vice Admiral Mykola Klitnyy, advisor to the commander of the Naval Forces of Ukraine. Issues on the upcoming meeting of the presidents of Ukraine and Russia were discussed.

In particular, the talk was about the principles of the formation of an amalgamated command of the Black Sea Fleet. Mykola Bahrov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Crimea and Ivan Yermakov, representative of Ukraine's president in Sevastopol, took part in the meeting.

### Black Sea Fleet Marines Redeploy Around Sevastopol

*PM0608182093 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 1*

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Company of Marines Takes Up Positions on Sevastopol's Transport Approaches"]

[Text] A company of marines of the Black Sea Fleet has been redeployed, together with its armored vehicles, from Kazachya Bay near Sevastopol to the region of the Mekenziyevy Hills. The company has taken up positions on the city's main transport approaches [razvyazki] and close to the Black Sea Fleet's ammunition and fuel stores.

The Black Sea Fleet press center confirmed this report, noting that "it is a planned operation, and will continue."

## 'Unsanctioned Rally' Supports Russian Status for Sevastopol

*LD0708122993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] More than 1,000 people assembled on Nakhimov Square in Sevastopol yesterday and held an unsanctioned rally, which they called the Second People's Viche [People's Assembly]. Its organizers, members of the so-called Russian Popular Council of Sevastopol [Rossiyskiy Narodnyy Sovet Sevastopolya], (?held votes on) approximately 10 of all kinds of resolutions, appeals, and decisions.

In particular it was decided to conduct a public opinion poll in the town by 25 August on consolidating Sevastopol's status in the Russian Federation Constitution. Then the participants of the rally voted for their activists not to appear at the law enforcement agencies when summoned to court, if there is no instruction to do this from the relevant bodies of the Russian Federation. By means of a separate resolution they censured the leaders of the local communists, who voted incorrectly at the last session of the Town Council, which condemned the decision of the Russian Parliament.

Sevastopol journalists also came in for criticism. In the opinion of the rally participants, practically all local newspapers and Sevastopol television have started on the path of disregarding and falsifying the decisions of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The only newspaper to earn the approval of the Russian patriots is FLAG RODINY, which is published by the Military Council of the Black Sea Fleet.

Appeals to the peoples of Russia and Ukraine, and also to the Crimean Tatars, were heard at the rally. The essence of these appeals is a request for support for the struggle of patriots for Russian status for Sevastopol.

## Commentary on Russian Territorial Aspirations

*WS0608112993 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Commentary by Serhiy Hubyn]

[Text] The Ukrainian administrative structures, including the president, the Supreme Soviet Presidium, and the Supreme Soviet in general, as well as political forces of Ukraine, have unanimously responded to the Russian legislature's decision. Moscow's attempt to subordinate Sevastopol was termed a rude interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state and a violation of international legal norms and treaties, signed earlier by the two states. For the first time ever, the declarations read: Russia is aiming at revising the existing borders that have been acknowledged by the international community, which may lead to unpredictable results.

The question is: Has Russia acted this way before? Territorial claims have been an attribute of its policy before, however Russia has never put them forward so overtly. [Words indistinct] when Gavril Popov, at that time the democratic Moscow mayor, spoke on television. It is strange that Ukrainian officials did not adequately respond to this, and that the mass media prefer not to mention this fact even now.

This is what happened: Right after Ukraine declared the Act on National Sovereignty, Moscow Central Television gave the floor to Gavril Popov, one of the leaders of the democratic movement in Russia. The speaker did not find the words to congratulate the Ukrainian people on winning independence. Instead, he started talking about the borders between the two states. According to Popov, the Crimea, the Donbass, including Donetsk and Luhansk Oblasts, the areas adjoining the Black Sea, including Odessa Oblast, and the eastern parts of Kharkiv Oblast are primeval components of Russia. Let us not talk about Popov's knowledge of laws and history. However, these were the first rocks put in the foundation of the Russian foreign policy. This was not done by communists who have always advocated a united and undivided Soviet Union, but by democrats. Popov's argument that only administrative and not state borders existed in the former USSR stands no criticism. Moscow, too, understood this, because this would have put to question the federative principle supported by Russia and aimed at the reanimation of the dying USSR. Gavril Popov's concept of borders would in fact nullify these efforts, because this would mean that an empire was to be revived and not a union of sovereign states.

There were other examples demonstrating Russia's contemptuous attitude toward the newly independent states, including President Yeltsin's declaration on the Black Sea Fleet. According to him: The fleet was Russian, is Russian, and will remain Russian. Besides, the Russian Supreme Soviet unilaterally annulled the treaty between the two states on placing the Crimea under Ukrainian jurisdiction, terming the treaty Khrushchev's gift to Kiev and rejecting the fact that the treaty was first approved by the Russian legislature, and only then, by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. The Sevastopol debate is another step in the scheme designed by Russia and directed at exerting pressure on Ukraine.

Why did Russian lawmakers concentrate their efforts on Sevastopol? One of the reasons was prompted by the Black Sea Fleet division. It turned out that Russia, having received a part of the fleet, was unable to make use of it due to the absence of deep sea ports. Other moments were also taken into account: the city's history, the Russian part of the Sevastopol population, and the fact that the city has an infrastructure supporting the functioning of the fleet. Russia foresaw the Ukrainian stance on the Sevastopol issue. However, Russia is interested in the build-up of nuclear sentiments in Ukraine and in making the latter refrain from signing the START I. This would give grounds to declare Ukraine dangerous to mankind and thus, oppose our interests to the interests of those states that manifested readiness to support our economic reforms. Moscow's policy is shortsighted and it shows. The UN Security Council has

confirmed this. Defense Minister Morozov's visit to the United States was a success. Ukraine has started eliminating the SS-19 missiles. Ukraine backs its peacefulness with practical actions, which makes the Russian methods look especially awkward.

### Kuchma Reiterates Need for Economic Union With Russia, Belarus

*AU0608173993 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 5 Aug 93 p 2*

[Leonid Samsonenko report comprising statements by Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma: "From the Position of Statehood"]

[Text] The Draft Agreement on the Creation of an Economic Union (Commonwealth) that was published in the press has given rise to a vast range of polar opinions among economic experts and representatives of political parties and movements and the public. Some people see in it a pledge for a further development of the economy within the framework of the market that has emerged on the territory of the states of the former Union and for an integration of production, while others see in it, almost encroachments upon Ukraine's state sovereignty and a return to the authoritarian system. Moreover, many of the opponents accuse the head of the Ukrainian government, Leonid Kuchma, of "signing" on behalf of the entire people of Ukraine such an important document without preliminarily discussing it. What does the premier, himself, think on this point?

"In this situation, we can see who's who. Let me point out, first of all: I did not sign any agreement. I only signed a protocol on intentions. To be objective and specific, this question was discussed on 14 May at the conference of heads of state and governments in Minsk. On behalf of Ukraine, the documents were signed by President Leonid Kravchuk. Both the resolution and the declaration on the need to create such economic union.

"Incidentally, even before May, when there was talk of approving the CIS statute, Leonid Makarovych also came out with the initiative of creating an economic union instead of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It was Ukraine's initiative, but it has now been overtaken by others.

"Leonid Makarovych signed both the declaration and the resolution with a reservation that it must not be a union, but some other name must be found, such as would not scare the people away. For example, commonwealth or something else. That is why I believe that the signing of the statement was an absolutely correct step. I have maintained this position from the very first day of being in the Supreme Council. I have insisted, and continue to insist, that we cannot emerge from the crisis unless we have a single economic area of the countries of the former Union and also of eastern Europe, because nobody in Europe is waiting for us. We have enough confirmation of this. Let the "Democrats" say: Who has given us anything? Maybe they personally received something and, for that reason, make so much noise.

"I will stress again: I have adhered and will adhere to positions of Ukrainian statehood and am not going to join any "soviet unions" [initial letters lower case as published]. No way. We must only count upon Ukraine's own possibilities and upon what we have."

Leonid Kuchma's words are also confirmed by the recent decision adopted by Russia's Central Bank on withdrawing "Soviet" rubles from circulation. The majority of economists have assessed this action as an obviously political one. "The removal by Russia from the circulation of the Soviet bank notes with the denomination from one to 1,000 rubles means the actual introduction of that state's own national currency," stated well-known Ukrainian economist Professor Volodymyr Chernyak. For him, there was nothing unexpected about that action, which was Russia's logical step toward the formation of its own monetary system. This step may only push countries of the ruble zone to introduce their own national currencies.

It may, therefore, be stated that the ruble zone no longer exists. Instead, there is Russia with its own national currency, there are states that now use, concurrently with their own national monetary units, the new Russian "wooden" [ruble], and those states (that same Dniester Region) where the old "Soviet" ruble continues to circulate. That is why, from now on, Article 17 of the Draft Agreement on the Creation of an Economic Union (Commonwealth) that envisages certain obligations on the part of those states that have joined the single ruble zone based on the use of the Russian Federation's ruble may be considered invalid. Politics is politics: Intentions are intentions, but charity begins at home. Why, then, should one be surprised that, following the "divorce, Soviet style," every state of the former Union marches toward a commonwealth exclusively proceeding from its own interests. The government headed by Leonid Kuchma also strives for mutually advantageous cooperation and for a normalization of economic relations. Does he [Kuchma] really deserve to be reprimanded for these intentions?

### Groups Meet in Support of Union

*LD0708190893 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1450 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Donetsk, 7 Aug—Public organizations, movements and national-cultural societies held a consultative meeting initiated by the oblast organization of the all-Ukrainian Party of Labor. The aim of this meeting was to clear up attitudes toward an intention to set up an economic union involving Ukraine, Belarus, and the Russian Federation. A statement says that the meeting participants come out for a civilized process of the making of statehood in Ukraine and support the initiative on setting up the economic union. In the opinion of those who signed the statement this will positively influence the life of Ukraine's citizens. The statement was

signed by the leaders of the oblast organizations: the Union of Afghanistan Veterans, the Movement for the Revival of Donbass, and the Union of Women of Ukraine.

### France Grants 5.5 Million Francs To Improve AES Safety

*AU0608122993 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 5 Aug 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "The Gift of the French Government"]

[Text] In accordance with the financial protocol signed in Kiev by representatives of the French and Ukrainian governments, the French Treasury is granting, as a gift, more than 5.5 million francs for implementing projects aimed at improving the nuclear safety of Ukrainian atomic power plants [AES]. The two sides have recognized this trend as a priority for the Ukrainian state.

For this money, France will deliver and assemble in Ukraine two training apparatuses for training the personnel of the Southern Ukrainian and Rivne AES.

### Texas Firm To Help Extract Crimean Oil

*PM0608084993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 93 First Edition p 2*

[Report by Nikolay Semena: "Texans Will Extract Crimean Oil"]

[Text] Simferopol—The "Crimea-Texas-Naphtha" joint venture has been registered in Simferopol.

It was created by the Texas firm "Khayteksplor" and the "Krymgeologiya" association with a view to increasing the extraction from poor oil fields on the Kerch peninsula.

The industrial extraction of oil, as is known, was begun here in the late 19th century. Later it was activated in the late forties and early fifties of this century. But soon the deposits were mothballed since existing technology made it possible to extract only 25-30 percent of stocks.

The agreement signed with the Texas firm will provide the opportunity to apply modern profitable technology and U.S. equipment. The Oktarskoye field near the settlement of Shchelkino will be the first to be developed in conjunction with the Americans.

### Lithuanian Prime Minister Views Trade Relations

*LD0508224493 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Report by correspondent Ausra Juraite, including recorded remarks by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius given at a news conference in Kiev; date not given]

[Excerpts] A free trade agreement and a memorandum that determines the conditions for the implementation of the agreement was signed yesterday by the prime ministers of Lithuania and the Ukraine. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius held a news conference today. Ausra Juraite reporting:

[Juraite] According to Adolfas Slezevicius, the Ukraine is a very suitable trade partner for Lithuania. It is evident that the current trade volume comprising four or five percent in the total import-export balance of Lithuania does not reflect the possibilities for the development of economic cooperation between our country and the Ukraine.

[Slezevicius] This is a very important agreement because it determines a more favorable trade regime with the Ukraine, with its huge potential both in machine-building and electronics, as well as other spheres. I think that we could set up an alternative that would help to reduce our integration into the Russian market, with which as you already know, we have failed so far to reach any positive agreements, in order to determine a more favorable trade regime to us.

[Juraite] Ukraine became interested in the oil terminal construction project and expressed a wish to take part in the implementation of it, because it suffers great difficulties in the sphere of power engineering. Ukraine also became interested in the development of the Klaipeda port and would like to use the services provided by the Klaipeda port.

Lithuania is interested in Ukrainian metal and its produce, the oil, chemistry and agricultural industry, as well as the electronics industry. [passage omitted]

[Slezevicius] The main objective of the government at the moment is to set up common trade principles, a common trade regime. Now that the main task has been achieved, we must ensure that the subjects of our economy can carry out trade without any restrictions.

[Juraite] In order that all these trade agreements were functioning normally, the problem of settling of accounts must be solved. Besides, the Ukraine owes Lithuania 40 million litas.

[Slezevicius] The prime minister and I signed an agreement on the compensation of the debt. The debt will be paid, however, the principles according to which the mutual settling of accounts will be carried out have not yet been determined. Currently, when the settling of accounts through banks has been disrupted and especially with the present high rate of the karbovaniets, trade with the Ukraine is getting very problematic to the subjects of our economy.

[Juraite] Negotiations were held on setting up a center for settling of accounts in Kiev, where all the means could be accumulated. [passage omitted]

Apart from that the prime minister also mentioned the problem of the visa regime with the Ukraine and Russia.

[Slezevicius] We remain the only country among the Baltic states through which the citizens of our Eastern neighbors can travel freely. This is not normal, therefore a decision has been made at the government session to entrust the Foreign Affairs Ministry to gradually go over to a strict visa regime. Indeed, we cannot allow for such practice to continue when all the citizens can travel without a visa.

[Juraite] Answering a question about the obstacles which arise on the way to the signing of the economic agreement with Russia, the Lithuanian prime minister said that the problems here were arising first of all from the Russian side.

[Slezevicius] Mr. Isakov is commenting that it was Lithuania who was linking it with the political agreement, however, in fact this is just the opposite. The Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry simply will not initial the text of the free trade agreement. The officials of the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry explain it by the stance adopted by Russia, that first of all the political agreement on the withdrawal of the troops must be signed. You know very well the reasons why this agreement has not been coordinated. The Lithuanian stance here is different and the problem here comes first of all from the Russian side.

### Ukraine To Render Humanitarian Aid to Abkhazia

*LD0608214293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Kiev—Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma has signed an instruction, in support of the proposal by the Chernigov oblast state administration, to apportion 100 tons of meat to the Republic of Abkhazia. The document indicates that this humanitarian aid will be rendered "in connection with the permanent inflow of refugees to Abkhazia, a significant part of whom are Ukrainians." All the expenditures toward that end will be covered by the Finance Ministry of Ukraine at the expense of the reserve fund of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

### Sailors in Egypt Demand Wages in Hard Currency

*AU0608131993 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Aug 93 p 4*

[Unattributed report: "Three Hundred Sailors Refuse To Return From Egypt"]

[Text] The economic losses caused by the mutiny of 300 sailors of the "Radyanska Ukrayina" [Soviet Ukraine] Floating Fish-Factory constitute $150,000. On 18 July, the crew disembarked, without permission, at the Egyptian port of Alexandria and demanded that the leadership of the Odessa lease enterprise "Antarktyka" immediately pay them their wages for the cruise in foreign currency. However, according to Ihor Baranov, general director of "Antarktyka," the $150,000—70 percent of their wages—is all that the enterprise has in its hard-currency account. Nobody in Odessa pins hopes upon support from the government, although, on 2 August, Ukraine's temporary charge d'affaires in Egypt, Viktor Nahaychuk, sent a cable to Kiev on the need for such support. In Ihor Baranov's opinion, there are two ways out of the situation: Either the sum of $150,000 is immediately found for paying the crew and as much for the floating factory's stay at the port, or the Egyptian government will resort to a diplomatic demarche on the occasion of the incident in the port.

### Iranian Embassy Announces Competition for Newspaper Publication

*AU0508133293 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 31 Jul 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Iran Is Getting Closer"]

[Text] On the eve of Ukraine's Independence Day, the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran announced a competition for the best newspaper publication on Ukrainian-Iranian relations in the spheres of politics, culture, and public life: "Iran Today: a View From Independent Ukraine"—this was the title given to it by the initiators of the competition that will continue from 15 to 31 August. Its results will be evaluated by 20 September. Money rewards amounting to 750 thousand karbovantsi have been set for winners in the competition—author of the best publication and editorial board of the newspaper that will publish it.

## National Affairs

### Parliament To Reexamine Decision on Referendum

*LD0608180193 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1413 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] Following the adoption by the Ukrainian Supreme Council of the resolution to hold a Ukraine-wide referendum on 26 September 1993, requests are arriving from local councils of people's deputies, bodies of executive power, public organizations, parties, and movements, and from individual citizens, proposing that the Supreme Council review its resolution.

In view of this, the Ukrainian Supreme Council on 14 July charged all of the standing commissions to comprehensively analyze this issue and make appropriate proposals. The commissions for legislation and legal issues, for issues concerning the work of councils of people's

deputies, and for the development of local self-government, have been charged with summing up the proposals of the standing commissions and people's deputies, and also the requests arriving from the provinces.

The presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Council has examined the summaries provided by the standing commissions and their conclusions and proposals, and has adopted a resolution to hold a plenary sitting of the seventh session of the Ukrainian Supreme Council in the third 10-day period of August of this year to reexamine the issues connected with the holding of a Ukraine-wide referendum regarding confidence (or no confidence) in the president and Supreme Council of Ukraine.

[Signed] Press Center of the Ukrainian Supreme Council

### 75 Percent Oppose Referendum

*LD0608212493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Kiev, 6 Aug (UNIAN)—As reported on 6 August by the press service of the Supreme Council of Ukraine, the Supreme Council Presidium made a decision to hold a regular plenary session of the parliament in the third week of August to consider the issue on the expediency of holding the September all-Ukrainian referendum on confidence (no confidence) in the president and the Supreme Council. It became known to a UNIAN correspondent from competent sources that as a result of individual questioning, 75 percent of the Presidium members spoke out resolutely against the holding of the referendum. These included Parliament Speaker Ivan Plyushch.

Oleksandr Lavrynovych, acting chairman of the Central Election Commission, said that the commission prepared documents on the impossibility of holding the referendum, due to the fact that the parliament neither approved the text of the bulletin nor the volumes of financing the action. The deadline for the adoption of the relevant documents is 10 August.

### Justice Party Opposes Referendum

*LD0808103293 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] The Ukrainian Party of Justice has made public an appeal to Supreme Council Chairman Ivan Plyushch. The document particularly indicates that the party considers it inexpedient to hold the referendum on 26 September, and calls on the Supreme Council to step up its activities toward adopting the election law and schedule it for the spring of next year.

### Unions Demand Referendum Money Used for Harvest

*LD0608180093 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1413 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] The economic crisis in society is continuing to deepen, which is leading to an even greater deterioration in the Ukrainian populations' living standards.

Preparation for a referendum in this difficult and crucial time will draw the bodies of state authority, parties, and civic organizations into new political battles, and will not contribute to the consolidation of efforts to resolve vitally important issues.

The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine, while supporting the appeal by the Supreme Council Presidium of Ukraine to conduct the harvest in an organized way and without losses, believes it to be expedient to make use of envisaged funds valued at more than 20 billion karbovantsi not on holding a referendum, the consequences of which it is not difficult to foresee, but on ensuring that the harvest which has been cultivated is gathered, and on the social protection of the population.

Proceeding from this, the Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine corroborates the decision of the Federation of Trade Unions Presidium of Ukraine of 16 June 1993 on preterm elections of the Supreme Council of Ukraine at the end of this year, and on simultaneously holding a referendum on confidence (or no confidence) in the president, and insists on this issue being examined at the Supreme Council session in the near future.

[Signed] The Federation of Trade Unions of Ukraine Presidium

### Kuchma Visits Kharkov Oblast, Meets Enterprise Leaders

*LD0608200093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1500 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Today, 6 August, Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is visiting Kharkov Oblast. The Turboatom [turbine and atom] Association was the first one on the itinerary of his business trip. There the head of the government had a meaningful conversation with the leaders of the enterprise, acquainted himself with the production of unique rotor units. Then he visited a tractor-building association. Near its main entrance a group of Kharkov residents under a red-and-blue flag of the Ukrainian SSR met the prime minister. They were demanding that the policy line of the government be explained and questions answered: When will the price rise come to an end?, when will the economic crisis be overcome? Leonid Kuchma promised to elucidate the above problems on Kharkov television. According to the program of the visit, today there will be a conference with the participation of the prime minister and the

leaders of a number of ministries and departments accompanying him, and the leaders of the oblast and city enterprises.

### Comments on Trade

*LD0708090893 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] As has already been reported, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma arrived in Kharkov on 6 August. He visited an Malyshev aviation production association and the Kharkov Physics and Technology Institute.

The first day of the two-day working visit by the head of the government to Kharkov and Poltava oblasts ended with a visit to the Kharkov Monolit production association, where talks took place. Representatives from the oblast state administration, directors of the town's large industrial enterprises, members of the Cabinet of Ministers, and also heads of Ministries and Departments took part in the consultation.

Speaking at the talks, Leonid Kuchma stressed that his trip is for familiarization. The purpose of it is to become more closely acquainted with the large enterprises of the industrial center and the problems facing them.

I have again been convinced, he observed, that the main thing today is the renewal of a single economic space within the republics which were part of the former Soviet Union, and also of the countries which were part of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Our products are not needed by anyone apart from Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. We cannot manage without one another.

I believe that the regions should be granted more rights. It is unrealistic to wait for help from the West. This is evident from the example of Russia. In order to achieve a positive trade balance with Russia, it is necessary for us to remove all quotas and licenses. It is necessary for us to reduce the level of power consumption within our industrial production, and above all of the chemical and metallurgical industries.

Leonid Kuchma is to visit farms in Kharkov and Poltava oblasts today.

### Arrives in Poltava Oblast To View Harvest

*LD0708193793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] As we have already reported, Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma is on a trip to southern oblasts of our state. On 7 August, after his visit to Kharkov oblast, he arrived in Poltava oblast. As was reported by the deputy head of the oblast state administration Petro Shemeta, the itinerary of Kuchma's stay envisages familiarization with the course of harvesting, checking the state of farm fields, and meetings with farm leaders and workers.

### Scientists Draft 'Concept' for Chernobyl 'Zone'

*LD0708205193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[text] On the order of the Ministry of Chernobyl of Ukraine, scientists of several institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the state have drafted a concept for a 30-kilometer zone [around Chernobyl nuclear power station], which will become part of a long-term national program of eliminating the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe. According to this document the zone is to be split into four more zones: an industrial zone which would incorporate the nuclear power station itself with the adjacent territory, including nuclear waste dumps; a buffer zone which would serve to prevent radionuclides from spreading; a protected zone where scientific monitoring of fauna, flora and water would be carried out; and also a general regime zone where technical and scientific forces will be concentrated for carrying out work in the first three zones. Specialists of the Ministry of Chernobyl of Ukraine on the whole approved the draft project by Kiev scientists.

### Miners Protest Actions of Labor Ministry

*LD0608181093 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1520 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Statement by Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Aug—The press service of the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine has circulated a statement that, in particular, says that the Labor Ministry of Ukraine blocks the enforcement of the additions to the tariff agreement currently in force in the coal mining industry, which had been coordinated with the State Coal Industry Committee, and the first deputy prime minister of Ukraine. The actions by the Labor Ministry are assessed by the Independent Trade Union of Miners of Ukraine as an attempt to provoke miners to resume the strike.

### Krasnodon Miners End Strike

*AU0608123093 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 5 Aug 93 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Miners Begin Working"]

[Text] The Krasnodon miners have ended their strike. However, work only started in those mines in which corresponding operation conditions were maintained. One-third of all the drifts and workings have become unusable, and their readiness for exploitation will be determined by a special state commission after corresponding measures are implemented.

## Cabinet Approves Privatization Research Program

*LD0608181593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] The Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers has approved a program of scientific research in the sphere of privatization for 1993-95. Those carrying it out—scientific research institutions, scientific work collectives, and certain specialists—are to study in depth the problems of privatizing the property of state enterprises in certain branches and spheres of the national economy, and also the methods of privatization, the process of predicting the social, economic, and political consequences of privatization, and the organization of monitoring research.

## Parties Unite in Sumy for Referendum, Elections

*LD0808083593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0700 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] A pre-election bloc of political parties called For Ukraine has been formed in Sumy. It includes oblast organizations of the People's Movement (Rukh) of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Republican Party, the Green Party, the Democratic Party of Ukraine, as well as Prosvita [society], and the Union of Ukrainian Women. They agree to work jointly during preparations for the all-Ukrainian referendum, and then the election of people's deputies.

The drafting of a pre-election program of the bloc and a single plan of action for the campaign is under way. The selection of candidates to run for deputies at all levels has begun.

## Crimean Tatars Increase Pressure for More Autonomy

*PM0908091793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 93 First Edition p 4*

[Nikolay Semena report: "Crimean Tatars Seek Their Own Statehood"]

[Text] Simferopol— At the end of July, as IZVESTIYA has already reported, the second session of the Second Kurultay of Crimean Tatars was held in Simferopol. More than 30 organizations and representatives of the Turkic world and UN establishments sent greetings messages. The Kurultay was a major event in the life of the Turkic peoples.

The main problem now worrying the Crimean Tatars is the return of the people deported in 1944 to their historical homeland. It should be said that this is an unusually difficult task to solve, given the economic crisis and the fact that a once single economic and legal area is now divided by borders. And yet, according to approximate figures, 250,000 Crimean Tatars have returned to the Crimea. By 1990 the returnees had, on their own initiative, as it were, using their own personal savings, acquired around 10,000 homes. In the period 1990-1992 around 2,000 apartments were built basically out of money allocated by Ukraine. Twenty-three thousand plots of land intended for individual construction were processed. Thus, only 24,000 of the 52,000 Crimean Tatar families have housing to date, while another 2,000 families have the theoretical possibility of being housed by the end of the year. The rest, having no savings, will be forced to rough it in tents, hostels, unfinished apartment blocks, or temporary accommodations without light, water, or heating, often without a job or medical help. Many children do not attend school, let alone kindergartens.

Could such a situation have been avoided? In principle, yes. However, the state program, which existed under the USSR and has now been developed in Ukraine, has not been a priority for the government for a long time, no one has been in a hurry to carry it out, and the situation is the same today. In the first six months of the year, according to Mejlis figures, only 2,000 out of 13,000 planned plots of land have actually been processed and 45 homes commissioned out of 900 planned apartments, only 17 percent of the annual planned number of electricity lines and one-fifth of water pipes and roads have been provided for settlements where Crimean Tatars are building their own homes, and there is virtually no work being carried out to provide sewage facilities and gas supplies. And yet the annual planned amount for 1993 meets only 10 percent of requirements.

That cannot go down well with the people and it forces the politicians from the Mejlis, who see the solution mainly in terms of turning the Crimean territorial autonomous formation into a Crimean Tatar national autonomous formation, to take the matter up vigorously. The Kurultay, whose delegates describe themselves as "new parliamentarians," regard the Mejlis, headed by Mustafa Dzhemilev, as their own national government. But, lacking adequate sources of finance, it is actively seeking to secure control over the resources allocated by the Ukraine cabinet of ministers for the return of the Crimean Tatars. So far without success. The resources are in the hands of the Committee for the Affairs of Deported Peoples. And although the resources are also managed by Crimean Tatars from the Crimean Council of Ministers, the Mejlis is asking with increasing insistence that it be officially recognized as "the sole representative organ of the people." And the last Kurultay clearly showed that the longer this desire is ignored, the more realistically the question of dyarchy in Crimea will be posed. The Mejlis already has its own power structures: organs of national self-government—mejlises—in all cities and rayons of Crimea and the committees to assist return in places of exile.

And here Kiev and Simferopol officials are faced with an insoluble dilemma: If not out of a sense of historical justice, then simply through pressure of circumstances, they are ready to cooperate one way or another with the the Mejlis of Crimean Tatars, but how do you call upon an organ which lays claim to the status of statehood if it has not been set up at all in accordance with the law on

elections? Either they have to violate their own law, which is bad, or they have to pretend that the Mejlis does not exist, which is even worse. Tension is mounting. At the Kurultay Ilmi Umerov, a prominent Mejlis activist, raised the question of creating a radical national "party of survival." For a national movement with such a record and experience it is only a matter of time.

Will the new Crimean law on elections, which it is planned to adopt in September, be able to remove the tension? Even given the provisions on national quotas in the parliament of Crimea, which have been opposed by the communists and the Russian Party of Crimea and related organizations, the law will not satisfy the Crimean Tatars, for the quota of 17 out of 80 seats gives no real opportunity to influence decisionmaking. Mustafa Dzhemilev has put forward a demand for either a quota of at least one-third or the right to "veto" "anti-Tatar laws" if such suddenly appear. It is doubtful that the present Supreme Soviet of Crimea will accept that, given that the formal reason for refusal is that the Crimean Tatars do not actually constitute one-third of the population of the Crimea. But no one has yet sought unorthodox solutions, which, however, seem to be the only way out.

## Party Head Complains of Unfair Access to Crimean TV

*LD0708152493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 0927 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Simferopol, 6 Aug—Yuriy Meshkov, the chairman of the Republican Party of the Crimea, has sent a request to the standing commission on issues of glasnost, the mass media, and public opinion survey at the Supreme Council of the Crimea. It indicates that the Party of Economic Revival of Crimea fully occupied Crimean television air time and even the first channel programs are abundant in interviews and roundtable discussions with representatives of this party.

He also underlines that Mr. Astakhov, the president of the television and radio company, has declared that there will be no paid political programs, but the situation changed after he had joined the above party.

Yuriy Meshkov demands that air time be given to other parties as well, Ukrainian parties included.

## Belarus

### Kebich Interviewed on CIS Cooperation

*WS0908063093 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Russian 24 Jul 93 p 2*

[Interview with Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich Answers the Questions of a NARODNAYA GAZETA Reporter"]

[Text] [Reporter] You often meet reporters and hold news conferences. Not long ago, you held a news conference on the Moscow agreement signed by the prime ministers of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, at which journalists, in fact, received answers to their questions. However, events are developing so fast that new questions have arisen and we would like to know your point of view and your position. First, we would like to go back to the agreement signed in Moscow. What prompted the declaration of three?

[Kebich] First of all, I must say that I am happy that NARODNAYA GAZETA, one of the most popular newspapers in the Republic, has decided to turn to me with questions on a number of important issues. I have carefully studied them. Many questions are of a provocative nature, but I believe that one should not evade overt discussions and that one should always explain his views and positions to the general public.

With regard to the declaration signed in Moscow by leaders of the three states, this is another step in developing objective processes within the CIS. We are jointly searching for ways, means, and methods of better regulating our economic relations given the new situation in which we have all found ourselves.

Let us take a look at how these relations have been shaping up since the establishment of the CIS. Different general and specific agreements among CIS members have been drafted. The number of such agreements exceeds 200. Unfortunately, they have had little influence on strengthening the mechanisms of cooperation among CIS states. However, this comparison is relative, because without the agreements the situation might have been even worse. The point is that we did not have any experience, while any experience, even negative, is very important.

In accordance with the decision by the CIS heads of state, preparations have been under way recently for an agreement on an economic union within the CIS. The union would consolidate the organizational structures of the Commonwealth. In the first place, I mean the recently formed Coordinative-Consultative Council. However, specific stances of some states which began to show in the process of drafting this treaty, did not facilitate its signing and normal functioning, and did not prevent this treaty from becoming another formal document not backed by real business.

The tripartite agreement among Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus on urgent measures regarding developing economic integration is aimed at providing impetus to the process of strengthening economic ties among CIS members. The agreement should be regarded from this point of view.

If one carefully reads this document, one can easily see that its main provisions are a reflection of the main idea of the treaty on economic union that is now being drafted in the framework of the CIS. There is nothing supernatural in the Moscow declaration. However, in our opinion, the efforts of the three states to coordinate their economic relations will be an indicator that will finally reveal which CIS members really want to participate in an economic union, and which states are only playing political games. The more so that the declaration by the three governments does not ban all other CIS states interested in this kind of cooperation from joining the agreement.

I want to remind you what the agreement contains the following stipulation in this regard: "The governments state that countries sharing the aims and principles of economic integration envisioned by this agreement may join it if they are not participants in other economic unions and associations, if such participation might violate the integrity of customs borders of the parties, hamper the implementation of a coordinated foreign economic policy toward third party states, or in any other way infringe on the legal economic interests of the parties."

The declaration underlines that the tripartite treaty must be drafted by 1 September 1993. Thus, the states that are truly going to share responsibilities and rights within the framework of economic cooperation still have time to think the matter over and determine their stance.

We have participated in many different discussions, debates, and sessions. It is time we moved on to practical actions. The Moscow document is just a declaration. Now, we must draft a large number of agreements to be signed and ratified.

With regard to this, I categorically reject rumors that appeared in the media claiming that the Moscow declaration is an opposition or a response to the recent Turkish conference of heads of state and heads of government of the Asian republics of the former USSR. This is a very simplified approach and it would be very shallow to limit things to this.

[Reporter] Will the treaty now being drafted not become a new tripartite union? What, then, would happen to the CIS? What is your vision of the future of the Commonwealth?

[Kebich] I think that I have already answered this question to some extent. However, if there is still ambiguity and a need for further clarification, I will try to do so.

First of all, everything depends on us—I mean the CIS states. If we are determined to consolidate our relations on the basis of goodwill and verified principles, and I want to believe that this is the case, then, of course the union of three will become the core, the force capable of filling our relations with badly needed real meaning. I think that my colleagues Kuchma and Chernomyrdin share my assessment of the situation. This is why, while pursuing the path of consolidating the Commonwealth through the methods we are proposing, we will facilitate the integration of our states.

It is not important if the name of the Commonwealth is the CIS or something completely different. It is important to make it real and not nominal. I am optimistic with regard to this, because developments are working toward a consolidation of our efforts and not toward disintegration. This is the only way for us to survive the dire straits in which we have found ourselves. Only someone who is up in the clouds can fail to understand this. However, sooner or later he will fall back to earth and understand everything.

This is not a matter of Kebich, Chernomyrdin, or Kuchma. Objective realities are above us. A very important task for politicians is to not wink at these realities but to make good use of them in the interests of their states and the Commonwealth.

[Reporter] Is there any certainty at all that an economic union of the three republics will be formed? Relations between Russia and Ukraine exacerbated after the declaration was signed.

[Kebich] Let us not scare one another. This is not the first time the situation has deteriorated in Ukraine or another CIS state. The fate of our nations is at stake. It would be ridiculous to anticipate perfect relations and a full agreement of viewpoints. Different political parties and public movements must realize this. Everything should be, so to say, digested and thought over. However, if a political party or a political leader favors, above all, the interests of his nation, not those whipped up by lofty emotions, but regular vital interests of a man who has to work, feed his family, raise children, and live in more or less normal conditions, such politicians will understand that we cannot do without one another. The economy is not an apple pie that can be cut into pieces. This is a most complicated and tightly intertwined system of production and social relations. Breaking these relations would simply murder our economy and thus, the people. This is why I believe that deterioration of relations will pass and common sense will prevail.

[Reporter] There have been rumors that Belarus is selling arms to Tajikistan. Is there are reality behind these rumors?

[Kebich] Our lives have always been full of rumors, even more so now. However, my answer is this: We are interested in selling our excess arms and military equipment. Even more so since some of them have become obsolete and can be sold harmlessly for the Belarusian Army.

Yet, we would never trade arms and other military equipment if it could lead to a flare-up of acute national conflicts in any area. With regard to your question, the situation is as follows. We did sell some military property to Tajikistan earlier this year. However, we did not sell a single firearm or piece of armor, and we will not do so, even though we have already been asked. Our stance is firm. While trading arms, one should be very cautious. Aside from this, we would need consent from Russia and Ukraine, because in light of the Moscow agreement these issues demand mutual coordination.

[Reporter] The press has carried reports of a very sore reaction to the Moscow agreement on the part of Kazakhstan. There have been accusations of political plagiarism. How will this affect relations between Belarus and Kazakhstan?

[Kebich] I must say that you have just asked me one of the most complicated and sensitive questions. Belarus and Kazakhstan have been linked by ties of longstanding good relations. These relations have deep roots—they started when Kazakhstan provided shelter to many Belarusians during the Second World War and when thousands of Belarusians participated in the recently criticized development of virgin lands. Many Belarusians by birth are still living among the open-hearted Kazakhs.

I have been on friendly terms with many Kazakh leaders for a long time, both from the central administration and the provinces. I value highly the wisdom and expertise of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is one of the CIS most outstanding leaders. I do not reject the fact that many concepts of the declaration were prompted by the ideas many times expressed by Nazarbayev. My respect for him is tremendous. However, I am against the monopoly of even the most respectful man on objective approaches to economic integration. All the provisions of the agreement of three have been repeatedly discussed at the conferences of heads of state and government. Thus, we should not debate authorship of the idea, because this is irrelevant.

Aware of Nazarbayev's wisdom and the sober approach of the leaders of other Central Asian republics, I hope they will find common traits in the declaration and in the draft treaty on economic union. By the way, I have yet to see Nazarbayev's personal reaction to the Moscow agreement. The press has only published declarations of his advisers, which is not the same.

I want to say that Belarus will miss Kazakhstan a lot, if, God forbid, our economic relations with this republic are disrupted. These relations have not always been fully coordinated or free of clouds, but we have always wanted to help one another during hard times. This is a very precious achievement and we must not loose it.

[Reporter] What do you mean by calling relations with Kazakhstan "not always free of clouds?"

[Kebich] Well, if you ask, I guess I have to answer. We have agreed that Kazakhstan will ship us 1.1 million tonnes of grain from its 1992 harvest. Not free of charge, of course. We signed an appropriate agreement in accordance with which we sent to Kazakhstan a large contingent of combine operators and equipment, two Army automobile battalions, as well as shipped a large number of tractors, almost 3,000 tonnes of butter, over 2 million cans of milk products, 10,000 television sets, 5,000 refrigerators—everything for which the Kazakh leaders asked. Unfortunately, for unknown reasons, we received only half of the grain we requested and its price was a couple of times higher than expected. We probably have to be more mutually exacting and make the economic mechanism of our relations work faultlessly. Agreements and treaties should be backed not by words but by strict economic sanctions.

Of course, this is an unpleasant, albeit small, episode in our relations. We have all the chances to strengthen and develop our cooperation, also on the regional level. By the way, this is being done. A delegation from Kustanay Oblast comprising a large group of experts recently visited us. We discussed a wide range of issues and agreed on 1993 grain shipments. We also agreed that last year's deficit will be refunded.

[Reporter] Speaking of grain, we would like to know about the Republic's harvest forecasts. What will be the supplies of bread, sugar, and oil? July is ending and sugar ration-cards are hard to exchange for sugar in Minsk....

[Kebich] Harvest forecasts were not too optimistic in the beginning, although timely support on the part of the government facilitated spring sowing. However later, in some regions, crops were damaged by frost and drought. Some 100,000 hectares of winter and spring corn had to be sown anew, while the first crop of grass provided less fodder than in 1992. The government had to take urgent action. Financial and material assistance was granted to a large number of farms. Then, as we know, weather conditions changed for the better. Now, harvesting of winter barley is under way. It is hard to provide any precise data, but we can predict that crop yield will be approximately the same as in 1992. Of course, we will have to buy some additional grain, including fodder grain, from abroad. Frankly speaking, we have not managed to achieve progress in resolving the grain problem. This can be explained by both the imperfection of economic relations and the fact that it is hard to change the structure of sowing areas. The government lacks an efficient instrument for exerting pressure on local administrators. I will not speak at length on this issue; I only want to say that the demand for bread will be met in full.

We are expecting a much higher harvest of sugar beets this year, which means that we will be able to produce more sugar. Last year, we produced 120,000 tonnes of sugar, and this year we expect to produce about 160,000 tonnes. However, you know that we are not self sufficient in terms of sugar production. This is why we are now taking measures to purchase sugar from other states.

Not long ago, one of our delegations visited Cuba and reached an agreement on barter shipments of raw sugar in 1994. The Cuban side has confirmed its commitments regarding 1993 shipments of sugar. The first ship has already arrived and our factories have started processing the raw sugar; the second ship is currently being loaded. All in all, Cuba will ship to Belarus some 56,000 tonnes of raw sugar. We have a contract with Russia for another 50,000 tonnes in exchange for milk and meat products. The Russian side promises to fulfill the contract in July and August. Other measures on expanding the volume of purchases are also being taken. With regard to Minsk, the city is receiving sugar from the Gorodeysk factory, which is to provide 2,000 tonnes of sugar, half of which has already been shipped. There are grounds to believe that residents of the capital will be able to exchange their ration cards for sugar in July.

The situation with oil is more complicated. Commercial organizations have bought some 3,000 tonnes of oil and have started selling it. Recently, we received humanitarian aid from Italy—2,400 tonnes of olive oil.

[Reporter] You have been head of the government for three years now. It is no secret that the life of the people has not improved during this period—it has deteriorated. In fact, not a single promise made at the Supreme Soviet session in 1990, when the new Cabinet of Ministers was being approved, has been kept. Given such a situation, governments in civilized countries resign. Why does your cabinet not make such a step?

[Kebich] I think that your question is rather biased. Still, let us tackle this issue. With regard to promises, this is a rather simplified approach when applied to government activity. Neither I, in my speeches, nor the government, in its documents, have given any list of promises and we could not have done so given the fact that our economy is currently influenced by many factors beyond our borders. Nonetheless, after reading your question, I carefully reread my speech at the first session of the Supreme Soviet in June 1990, as well as the speech at the same session dedicated to future activity of the government, and a number of other speeches. All of them underlined two basic elements. First, this was the assessment of the situation in general, mostly in the economic sphere, proceeding from the situation in the areas with which we have always been connected. Second, these were our intentions given the circumstances.

If you remember, the government took office when many processes that later took place across the Soviet Union did not yet exist. I refer first of all to processes of a political nature that later affected the more or less successfully existing single economic zone. In general, how can one speak in such a simplified manner: "Promise, did not promise?" I had expressed my stance

regarding the situation that existed at that time. Only a dumb politician, forgive the word, who is clinging to obsolete dogmas that he views as flawless doctrines, can be picking on words. The dialectic of science, and even more so the dialectic of life means assessing situations as dynamic and not permanent processes. The totality of these assessments undoubtedly gives rise to new conclusions, new approaches, and results in new decisions.

It would be strange if in such a dynamic and quickly changing situation the forms and methods of resolving issues were rigid. To some extent, such forms could match the conditions of a stable society. In our situation, when we are still building such a society, talking about promises is out of place. Another question would be more appropriate here: How quickly and efficiently has the government responded to the quickly changing circumstances. Not dwelling on this issue, because this is a bulky issue, I can assert you that the government, overwhelmingly composed of highly educated and experienced professionals, has tried, and in most cases succeeded, in reaching the primary tactical target—responding in a timely fashion to changes in the situation.

In hindsight, we can say without excess self-satisfaction that the government has coped with its tasks and is coping with them now. Of course, there have been many mistakes and wrong moves. We probably could have better forecasted the possible changes. In some cases, we overestimated the decency of the leaders of certain regions of the former USSR. In some cases, we were too trustful. However, I would not call these grave mistakes because this negative experience cannot be avoided in any business. In a way, this is useful experience because one can learn from such things.

Every government is oriented toward providing benefits for its people. However, one cannot foresee all situations, especially those of an external nature. Promising this would be pure nonsense. I think that the government has managed to do one thing—our economy and our lives, although far from what they should be, are no worse than in those regions with which we are tightly connected.

No matter how fiercely the government is criticized, we have managed to create a socioeconomic situation which is far better than in any of our neighbor states. My linen is clean. We have been trying to demonstrate patience and I want to say that we have become accustomed to due criticism, and even more, to undue criticism. We have learned how not to feel a grudge and how to place the interests of the Republic above any personal resentments. Our greatest concern is our economy and our people. We are doing everything to achieve this goal. The rest is ephemeral. Do not try to draw me into debates on resignation. We have seen this before. This is insignificant when compared to what must be done.

Do you think that the government is not worried when it sees that people's living standards have deteriorated? In fact, the major portion of our everyday activity is aimed at alleviating such hardship. What can we do when the growth of wholesale and purchase prices is caused primarily by endless increases in the prices of oil and other energy resources? We believe that this stormy ocean will begin to calm down this year. There have been signals that Russian oil producers are having difficulties selling their overpriced products. It is hard to foresee further development of the situation of power resources. We are carefully watching these problems and trying to discuss them with the Russian leadership.

[Reporter] Not long ago, you promised that our lives would be better because of perestroyka, then, that they would change because of the transition to a market economy, then because of the establishment of the CIS, then the anti-crisis program, then the collective security treaty, and so on and so forth. Today, you speak about an economic union.

[Kebich] Let us not pile these things in one heap. A lot of people saw at the very beginning that perestroyka was a futile undertaking and could not yield anything but chaos. I talked about this at the Congress of People's Deputies.

With regard to the CIS, let us be frank—circumstances forced us to establish it. At that time, it was impossible to create an ideal structure and strictly adhere to its principles. Restoration of political, economic, and cultural relations among the former USSR states is a path never traveled by anyone. This is why a search for new forms and methods of cooperation is continuing. This process gives rise to new ideas and new approaches. This is natural given the current circumstances. We cannot rule out new agreements and various direct and indirect contacts at the republic and region level. This problem should not be simplified. The main thing is that the members of the CIS have not lost their desire to look for ways of cooperating, although this is sometimes a complicated and painful process. While establishing normal relations between states, just like between people, there must be room for compromise, for subordinating one's interests to the common goal. Disregarding these principles leads nowhere.

[Reporter] The mass media and Supreme Soviet deputies have been advocating the idea of a government of peoples' trust comprising representatives of all the political forces of the state. Why not hold a roundtable with political opponents and draft a coordinated policy?

[Kebich] The task of forming a government rests with the legislature. My personal opinion is that a coalition government can only be efficient if it is formed by political parties that enjoy support from the people. We have no such parties in Belarus yet, as you know. Turning the government into an ill-coordinated diversified team would hardly improve the situation. To be efficient, a government must be composed of like-minded people. Only then, it will be able to resolve current and future problems.

I have suggested many times that the most ardent critics take part in governmental activities. Somehow, there have been no volunteers. It must be easier to criticize than to carry the burden of responsibility for the unstable economy of a young sovereign state. These people remind me of fervent soccer fans, who, while sitting in their seats, advice players how to kick the ball. However, these people have never kicked a ball themselves and in fact, they do not know how to kick it.

With regard to a roundtable with political opponents, you have been misinformed. We have had conferences at both round and square tables, and we have reached an understanding. However, there is one basic difference. We are against subordinating peoples' interests to political emotions, against shortsighted interference into our complex economy. As a rule, such interference inflicts losses to both the economy and people.

[Reporter] We supply Russia with raw materials and receive end products in return. However, we remain Russian debtors. This is a phenomenon that does not occur anywhere else in the world.

[Kebich] This has often occurred in the world, however this is not the point. Now, let us talk business. This is a complicated issue taking into account Belarus' current financial relations with Russia and other former republics of the USSR. If we regard the Republic's turnover, the figures are as follows: As of 1 July, Belarus has exported to Russia 535 billion rubles [R] worth of products and imported the equivalent of R432 billion. From this viewpoint, we have a balance surplus. These figures include direct payments among enterprises on a barter basis. However, a lot of these direct contacts are being maintained omitting the banks. Due to this, the state of things reflected in bank accounts differs from the real state of things. A special account, the so-called correspondent account opened by the Belarusian National Bank in the Central Bank of Russia, provides a comprehensive idea of the true balance of mutual payments between Belarus and Russia. Prices of power resources are growing rapidly. We cannot compensate them with higher prices of our products because this would lead to lowering of demand. On the other hand, our enterprises sometimes fail to fulfill obligatory deliveries envisioned by intergovernment agreements. We must regularly pay for oil, gas, and other resources. These factors result in deficit balance in our financial relations with Russia.

We have turned to the Russian government for loans. We received interest-free technical credit in the first half of the year. Russia has banned technical credits for the second half of 1993. We have managed to receive a regular loan of R70 billion and agreed on favorable conditions for paying back this loan and others granted earlier.

Nonetheless, many problems remain unresolved. We are looking for ways of resolving them. If the idea of an interstate CIS bank was implemented, this would clear the way for multilateral clearing. This means that mutual payments would take into account the favorable balance that we are enjoying in financial relations with other members of the CIS.

We believe that the establishment of an economic union will remove many obstacles hampering the free flow of goods and payments.

[Reporter] Why did you employ so many deputies in executive bodies? Everywhere else in the world, this is viewed as bribing legislature.

[Kebich] I think that this is another provocative question. While looking for employees for governmental structures, both I and my assistants were drawn first of all by the professional qualities of these people. In this case, it makes absolutely no difference whether or not someone is a deputy.

In my opinion, you are implying something special. There are only three or four deputies in the government itself. Then, there are several people working in governmental departments, but they were elected deputies while already working there. There is no need to dramatize the situation. You are trying to drive me into a pointless discussion. Our legislation does not prohibit deputies from working in the administration.

[Reporter] The issue of prices is very acute. Hardly anybody can give a long-term or even short-term forecast of what will happen to prices. Still, we would like to hear your opinion.

[Kebich] I completely agree with you. It is impossible to impose a ceiling on price increases. Prices depend on the situation in the economy and, in the first place, on prices in those states with which we have close contacts. Again, first of all they depend on prices of oil and natural gas imported from Russia. Today, one should be very careful while predicting the future level of prices. An entire set of new factors has appeared, including quotas on our industrial products introduced by Russia and other states.

We have a number of variants of price forecasts depending on whether the increase in prices of power resources will be moderate or abrupt. All the variants have one thing in common; namely, they predict that price indexes will lower in the second half of 1993. Nonetheless, inflation will not stop, which means that price hikes will continue, albeit at a slower pace.

Why am I speaking about the level and expectations of prices so heedfully? Because, most of the prices in the Republic are not imposed by the authorities. They are regulated by supply and demand, which means they are market prices. However, some methods of regulating them in the monopolistic production have been maintained. So far, we have maintained fixed prices on the most popular sorts of bread, certain dairy products, and

liquor. Soon, all this will make no sense, because it is not effective and there are other forms of social protection the government can use.

Despite discrepancies in opinion and not-always-justified demands put on the government, we have managed to provide relatively acceptable level of welfare. However, there are differences in social protection of various groups of the population, yet, when talking about numbers, one must underline that the level of per capita income does not fall behind, but exceeds the minimum consumption budget. The increases in income even out the price hikes, only in some months do they fall behind.

Recently, a new resolution on the welfare has been adopted by the government. It provides for an increase in the minimal wage from R6,600 to R9,000 per month, beginning 1 August, and for the basic wage rate to increase to R11,000. At the same time, all pensions will increase 40 percent.

[Reporter] Now the latest question, which somehow sums up the preceding point. How does the Republic's economic situation look from the government's point of view?

[Kebich] I should be frank: It looks very, very complicated. Negative symptoms are prevailing over the positive ones. The most negative symptom is that we are unable to stabilize production. However, there have already been signs of stabilization, and one cannot forget that.

In the first six months of this year, compared to the same period last year, industrial production declined over 16 percent. Of course, this represents a considerable drop. However, it is not a big consolation, but decline in production in our country is smaller then in many other CIS countries. In addition, it is evidently structural. The decline is primarily connected with the oil processing industry, half of which has not worked for the Republic's demands in the last few years. The same can be said about the chemical industry. In many cases it relates also to the machine building and metal processing industries, especially to the military enterprises. We started to change profiles of production in those branches in the second half of last year. So, it would be more logical to look at the situation with production, having excluded those branches. The decline level would be two times smaller in such a case. Additionally, despite some variations, monthly production volume in the last period equals that of last December. Of course, this is compared in correlative prices.

I will return to the production structure issue, once more. Today, since we have started to run our economy independently, and when each tonne of raw materials costs us thousands of rubles, this prevailing structure cannot be justified. And we are changing it.

Not long ago, the government adopted a very serious economy reconstruction program. This program ripened not in the offices of the state officials. Many enterprises which are forming the outlook of their branches participated in its preparation. Their views were reflected in this program. It should play a key role as a landmark for the government, the ministries, and all managers.

Lately, when it comes to programs, you can notice some kind of nihilism. Maybe, there are some reasons for that, but you must maintain a sober attitude towards the issue. No significant economical maneuver, especially one that affects the Republic's entire economy, can be made without a deeply considered program. There are no effects without programs.

Of course, the numbers mentioned above are not exact. They provide only a general idea of what is going on, and lots of unpleasant things are going on. An entire array of enterprises, including big factories and corporations, have cut down production, and are experiencing serious difficulties with technical and material resources, and even now with the sale of final products. There is no market, no production, no money to pay people. We have to send people on vacation, and cut the production forces by half. Ground for very serious social conflicts is being naturally prepared. We understand the seriousness of the situation not only because the trade unions are triggering it, but because we realistically estimate it.

Today, measures to calm the situation are being introduced, for example, to lower the interest rates for enterprises so they can pay off the overdue wages. We will also have to somewhat relieve them of the tax burden, and help them improve their financial relations with suppliers and consumers.

Still, you cannot expect the government to solve all enterprises' problems; that is simply impossible. You have to ease the economic mechanism and the system of economic relations, which means that you have to move faster towards a real market. Moreover, enterprises themselves should do it themselves, as is done and accepted in all civilized countries around the world.

In the end, I would like to say the following. Only three years have passed since we started to build our independent state. When you look at all the problems, including those we were talking about, they seem like nothing more than the problems of an emerging state. From this point of view, everything looks natural. That which is new does not come easy. It is always born through the struggle with the old. Because of that, despite all obstacles, we should remain optimistic and trust the future. Anyway, that is my personal belief.

Taking advantage of this opportunity, I would like to greet all readers of NARODNAYA GAZETA and all compatriots on this Independence Day, and wish them happiness and prosperity.

## Budget Deficit Exceeds 80 Billion Rubles

*LD0608181393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] The BELINFORM agency reports that according to the Belarus State Statistics Committee, in the first six months of this year, the crisis in finances and money circulation deepened. The budget deficit exceeded 80 billion rubles.

## Heavy Rain, Fuel Shortage Jeopardize Grain Harvest

*PM0908090193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 93 First Edition p 1*

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report under the general heading "Russia Will Harvest 110-112 Million Tonnes of Grain. But Harvest Under Threat in Belarus"]

[Text] Much trouble has been created in Belarus by torrential rain and heavy winds. Over vast areas winter rye has already "sprouted," and spring crops have also turned. Potato plantations have turned black from too much moisture. Stacks of hay procured for the winter are floating in water...

The situation in many of the republic's grainfields is simply critical, especially in Gomel and Brest Oblasts: In the former 126,000 hectares of agricultural land have been flooded, and in the latter 117,000. The Polessye rivers have broken their banks, houses are flooded, and power lines are down.

It cannot be ruled out that some fields in the republic sowed with winter and spring cereals will have to be harvested by hand. Some grain crops especially heavily hit by the rains will go for feed; they are good for nothing else. Distilleries and starch processing enterprises are urgently preparing for a heavy workload—they will have to process great quantities of potatoes, or else they will rot altogether in the fields.

However, bad weather is not the only threat to the harvest. The problem of fuel and lubricants has become highly acute, even in the first days of the harvesting. In July Belarusian oil refineries were at standstill for a whole week. There was nothing to refine, since the republic could not settle up with Russian oil deliverers in time. In the first 20 days of July only 65 percent of the required gasoline and 73 percent of the required diesel fuel were delivered to the countryside. And now some farm leaders are in despair: At any minute the harvesting could be interrupted because not a single tonne of fuel has been received recently.

The government has just introduced new purchase prices for grain. A tonne of grain will cost an average of 105,557 rubles—10 times more than last year. But what can you do?

Only a small area of grain crops has been reaped—12,000 hectares out of a total of 2.8 million. Each hectare has yielded an average of 27 quintals, slightly less than last year.

## Trade Union Body Hits Government on Prices

*PM0908101593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 93 First Edition p 4*

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report: "Belarus: Pay Cannot Keep Up With Prices"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belarusian Government has elaborated the latest measures of social protection for the population.

The measures envisage a minimum wage of 9,000 rubles [R], and the introduction of an R11,000 first-category wage rate [tarifnaya stavka pervogo razryada]. The minimum pension is henceforth R12,600. For additional support to workers on low wages at budget-financed enterprises, institutions, and organizations coefficients for raising wage and salary rates were introduced as of 1 August.

Students' spirits will be lifted at least a little—the grants at higher educational establishments, for example, will be R7,650. It will become slightly easier for families who are raising children. As of August an allowance of R27,000 will be paid out on the birth of a child. The unemployed have not been forgotten—unemployment benefit will be increased by 40 percent.

At first sight, the measures are not bad. From the state budget alone they will require around R120 billion before the end of the year. But will these measures protect the inhabitants of Belarus from the onslaught of prices? A few days ago the prices of bread and other food products went up sharply here. The trade unions reacted to this straightaway. V. Goncharik, chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Belarus, told journalists: The government has nevertheless caused another price spiral, thus violating the principles of social partnership enshrined in the general agreement for 1993 which it signed. The Federation of Trade Unions of Belarus has held consultations with the republic's labor collectives on the question of convening a Supreme Soviet session in September at the latest. It would have to examine the alarming socioeconomic situation in the country. We are often reproached for the fact that trade unions stir up public opinion, Goncharik said. But after all, as sociological research shows, 76 percent of the population is alarmed specifically by the price hikes.

Let us be frank: Such statements do not make it easier for the inhabitants of Belarus, and, at the end of their tether, they are already asking: Who in the republic is trying to gain political capital—the government or the trade unions?

### Border Violators To Bear Costs of Deportation

*PM0908102593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 93 First Edition p 8*

[Mikhail Shimanskiy report: "Violators of Belarusian Border Will Have To Pay Border Guards' Costs"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belarusian Government has decreed that people detained by border guards for violating or trying to violate the state border will bear all the costs incurred.

The republic government was to a significant extent prompted to take this step by recent events on the Belarusian-Polish border in the area of Grodno, which IZVESTIYA wrote about in its 28 July issue. Remember: A group of 31 people—Indians, Pakistanis, and Turks—tried to cross the border illegally in order to subsequently reach Germany via Poland. They were caught within two hours.

"On a financial level this operation cost us a great deal," Lieutenant General Yevgeniy Bocharov, commander of the Belarusian Border Guard Troops, said. "The search for and detainment of only one such violater costs the state 80,000-100,000 rubles [R]. And here we had 31 people."

But even that is not all. For the inquiry you need a lawyer and a translator, and these services have to be paid for. The violators have to be fed during the inquiry, and a transport ticket bought for their deportation.

There are more and more border violators—around 400 people have already been arrested in the past six months, and over R70 million has been spent on this.

Violators of the Belarusian state border have hitherto faced a fine of R50-250 in total. But now they have to bear all the costs out of their personal funds, including foreign currency. This applies to foreign citizens, people without citizenship, and also citizens of Belarus.

## Moldova

### Snegur on Parliament's Rejection of CIS Treaty

*AU0608150693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Mr. Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, gave an interview to Reuter today. According to our correspondent in Chisinau, Nicolae Mircea Nastase, the questions particularly focused on the situation created in the wake of the rejection of the ratification of the treaty on the adherence of the Romanian state beyond the Prut River to the CIS.

Parliament split into two camps, which tend to harm each other, thus exhausting its ability to work in a constructive way. Parliament will dissolve itself, and early elections will be held because more than half of the deputies deem it necessary, President Snegur said. The population reacted negatively to the nonratification of the CIS adherence treaty, he said. The same reaction came from the economic units of the CIS member republics, when contacted in this respect by various ministerial officials from the Republic of Moldova.

The abrupt break of the current links with the CIS will lead to disaster. Furthermore, the nonratification of the adherence treaty might have implications on the social and political implications in the rayons on the left bank of the Dniester River and the localities with a preponderantly Gagauz population. The driving force for the maintenance of the country's territorial integrity and nonadmission of its federalization, President Snegur said, are the masses in this area, which are already convinced of the bankrupt policy of the secessionists.

### Further on Anti-CIS Vote

*AU0708201093 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1658 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 7/8/1993—The basis of a spiritual and economic integration and a broad cooperation has been created in the relationship between Moldova and Romania; this proves that the two states have the same historical roots, stated President Mircea Snegur to Carlos Wildmann, reporter of DER SPIEGEL. As Snegur believes, the current Romanian leadership, led by Ion Iliescu, has the same conviction. Speaking about the not ratified CIS agreement, Snegur said those who did not vote or who voted against it had hurt the state. Moldova strives to become member of several economic communities, said the president; there were no reasons to deny the agreement's ratification. Western countries, including Romania, seek new markets in Russia. In this case the position of the deputies who denied the agreement is not clear, as everyone was aware that Moldova imports raw materials from the ex-Soviet republics and almost all its production goes there. Snegur stated he supported deputies who plead for the parliament's dissolution and for running early many-party elections; this would create a new government helped by the parliamentary majority. The president said a new parliament could examine the special judicial status of Dniester and Gagauz regions, as the current one actually forgot it. Snegur added that one cannot require to grant special status to these regions—calling it defense of human rights of Russians—as a condition for the retreat of the 14th Army from Moldova. The Russian living there are only 25 percent of the entire Russian population of Moldova. The other 75 percent are on the opposite bank of River Dniester, living in peace with the locals. This fact was also confirmed by international commissions. President Snegur stated that Boris Yeltsin is for Moldova's independence and integrity; the Transdniester separatists are supported only by pro-imperial forces. A Moldovan delegation will arrive in Germany this November to sign a series of agreements, stated Snegur. This information came from a communique of the Presidency's Press Service.

### Aides Oppose Treaty

*AU0708201493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1753 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 6/8/1993—Stefan Gorda, state adviser of the Moldovan president, forwarded his demand for dismissal. The reason is that he disagreed with Snegur's approach to the parliament which required to ratify the CIS agreement. "On 16 July I asked for dismissal and there is still no response," stated Gorda to BASAPRESS. "Moldova's link with CIS would hurt most of the population. The open frontiers would mean that privatized state property comes into the purses of 'CIS barons,' and the image of Moldova as independent state would be totally distorted," Mr. Gorda said. He added that representatives of international structures have the impression that certain government forces stop them support the economic independence of Moldova. "Currently, one can see the confrontation in the top leadership between those striving for West and for CIS. Judging by some symptoms, after the CIS documents were not ratified, Russia intends to increase the economic blockade of Moldova. As a first step in that [direction] it looks to introduce excises on food imported from Moldova," the state adviser Gorda believes. BASAPRESS found out from reliable sources that Vlad Darie, head of the Section for Political Analysis of the Moldovan President's Cabinet, had demanded to be dismissed for the same reasons.

### Parliamentary Groups Plan Future Strategy

*AU0508205093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] The resumption of the extraordinary session of Moldova's Parliament has been postponed until Tuesday, 10 August for procedural reasons, the press office of Parliament has announced today.

Today deputies of the parliamentary groups Viata Satului [Village Life], the Independents, and Reconciliation held a meeting that lasted until late in the afternoon, thus blocking the resumption of today's session. The purpose of the meeting, which was held behind closed doors, was the devising of a common strategy, intended to be published subsequently in a declaration, concerning possible courses of action after the law-making body has rejected the ratification of the draft treaty on Moldova's adherence to the CIS.

Although initially it had been announced that the session is to resume tomorrow, later on it was decided that Parliament should not be in session before Tuesday, our Chisinau correspondent, Nicolae Mircea Nastase, reports.

### Conciliation Group Condemns Vote

*AU0708201793 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1658 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 7/8/1993—The fact that the parliament did not ratify the agreement on Moldova's link with CIS is "an act without responsibility and an ignoration of the people's interests, in change for the interests of Christian Democratic Popular Front [FPCD], the Congress of Intelligentsia, the Democratic Party of Labour and other 'democratic' factions." This is stated in the declaration of the Soglasie-Conciliere (Conciliation) group, published today in the Russian newspaper KISHINEVSKYE NOVOSTI (Chisinau News). The "Conciliation" group had refused to sign the secret voting protocol, saying it was actually not secret; it considers the voting invalid, the declaration states. The group demands to organize a nominal voting to ratify the Alma-Ata agreement and publish the results afterwards. It also requires to approve a new law on elections and fix the date of early parliamentary elections.

### Debate Tied to Parliamentary 'Crisis'

*AU0708201593 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1658 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 7/8/1993—President Snegur's proposal to discuss at the parliament extraordinary session the CIS agreement ratification provoked various political interpretations. There are three of them: First, President Snegur or forces behind him wanted Moldova to enter CIS; second, Snegur wanted to change the parliament's attention from the problems to be debated, "saving" the government; third, the president wanted a crisis in parliament. This latter could lead to the parliament's dissolution. Obviously, to check which is right, these versions should be compared to the interests of Moldovan political forces. What political force had always wished the ratification of the CIS documents? First of all, the Tiraspol government. However, we must recognise, it asked Chisinau to enter CIS solely as a compromise, not as a vital need of Transdniester. Then, the Democratic Agrarian Party; nevertheless, it showed patience in the two months before the extraordinary session. The party leaders made no statement even to remind of the CIS documents' ratification.

Which political force wanted the dismissal of the current government President Snegur "rushed" to save? One can say for sure: None. Even the Democratic Party of Labour had not demanded the dismissal of Sangheli's government. This party was the sole to present parliament a true analysis of Moldova's economic situation and the sole able now to propose a new cabinet of ministers.

The third version is left. What political force had always insisted on the dissolution of parliament? Just one: the Social-Democratic Party of Moldova (PSDM). It had even proposed a political programme for this dissolution. How could this party with little influence "organize" a parliamentary crisis, i.e. a political one?

The answer is found easily if we remember that President Snegur had personally thrown the apple of discord into the parliament, starting useless discussions on the links with CIS and if we realise that PSDM has a growing influence over the president, especially since one of its leaders became Snegur's first counselor. If this third version is right, one can suppose that most of the agrarians "gave a hand" to organize the crisis. Because it is much easier to believe that the 22 deputies of the minority voted against CIS after a well-organized political gamble, than of fear to be labelled "traitors of the country." Another proof for this is that after the secret voting rejected the link with CIS, Dumitru Motpan, leader of agrarians, had immediately demanded the dissolution of parliament. Perhaps, it is not randomness that only a day after the parliamentary crisis began, Snegur stated to REUTER that the parliament "is to dissolve, and early many-party elections will be run." Anyway, if the outcome of the extraordinary session was wrongly calculated, it was much desired by the president and political forces supporting him.

## Russia, Ukraine Stop Coal Shipments

*AU0608173193 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1729 GMT 5 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 5/8/1993—Coal stocks at the Moldovan thermal power stations are at a critical level, stated to BASA Valeriy Ikonnikov, general director of the Department for Energy Resources [sentence as received]. The decreased fuel supplies to Moldova, registered in 1992, have worsened in the first seven months of 1993. Thus, Russia stopped the shipment of coal five months ago, violating the agreements. Ukraine had also halted the coal supply. Moldova received some 50,000 tonnes of coal, while the needed amount is 300,000 tonnes per month. Ikonnikov stated that 40-50 billion rubles are needed to buy coal for winter and the department does not have this money. According to some experts from the Ministry of Economy, the fuel needed for winter is worth 300 billion rubles in current prices.

## Dniester Security Minister Views Fight Against 'Terrorists'

*AU0608170093 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 3 Aug 93 p 10*

[Interview with Vadim Shevtsov-Antyufeyev, minister of security for the Dniester region in the Republic of Moldova; place and date not given: "The Security Services in Chisinau and Tiraspol Cooperate Against 'Terrorists'"]

[Text] I must have been talking to a highly qualified professional in matters of "state security," otherwise I could not explain such categorical statements, which very few secret service heads would make, such as "we are pitted against the Romanian Intelligence Service with its 3,500 people, the security apparatus of Moldova with its 1,500 people, the Ukrainian intelligence services, and the Mossad, which operates through Ukraine." My interviewee, Vadim Schevtsov-Antyufeyev, currently "the minister of security of the Dniester Moldovan Republic," does not appear extremely worried that the Dniester region is "crammed with intelligence services," as he believes. He answered our request for an interview promptly, was extremely punctual, and had no reticence whatsoever vis-a-vis the press, aside from the fact that, after consultations with an aide, he preferred that there should be no photography or filming during the interview.

"Our ministry," he said at the beginning, "was set up in May 1992, primarily to fight against terrorist groups sent here (to Dniester, editorial note) by the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Moldova." One should add here that the moment coincided with the fiercest battles on the Dniester River between the Armed Forces, public order forces, and volunteers of the Republic of Moldova on the one side, and the Dniester secessionists on the other. The "terrorist groups" are actually opponents of secession. "According to our information (the specific jargon!—editorial note), from March 1992 until the end of the military operations, up to 30 diverse groupings from the Republic of Moldova were operating on our territory." That is, groupings from the same state, operating against certain self-proclaimed authorities declared illegal and unconstitutional not only by Chisinau, but also by Moscow. One of these "terrorist groups" was the 5-man group led by Ilie Ilascu, plus the man who informed on them, currently being held in the cages in Tiraspol. "Two of these groups were arrested—one in Dniester, that is the Ilascu group, and the other one, the Negri group, in the Gagauz region (the other secessionist spot in the Republic of Moldova—editorial note), of whose fate I no longer know anything."

How is the "Ministry of Security" in Tiraspol structured? "We have everything that such a ministry requires, that is intelligence and counterintelligence services, including a military one. We have everything that such an institution requires."

I asked him whether he has contacts with his counterpart in Chisinau—for instance, whether he has met with the national security minister of the Republic of Moldova, Vasile Calmoi. His answer was in the affirmative. "Of course, we could not maintain any kind of contacts with the former leadership of the Republic of Moldova, primarily because of ongoing military operations." He has only harsh words for the former national security minister in Chisinau, Anatol Plugaru, whom he accuses of "having done a great deal to trigger the war...; under his leadership, terrorist acts were planned...; he is a political adventurer and a mental case that is somewhat retarded," and so forth. One should point out here that the use of such expressions as "terrorism," "war trends," and so forth when referring to actions undertaken by a state within its own territory against elements seeking to secede is quite improper, to say the least. As for his

assessments of the "enemy" Plugaru's state of mind, they obviously do not belong to a qualified physician, but to his adversary. Nevertheless, such terms have become quite common in the jargon of the Tiraspol chiefs who—as I was able to note at a rally held a few weeks ago to sanction Tighina's annexation to the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic—want to "blame" President Snegur, former Defense Minister Costas, and former Interior Minister Plugaru for the tragedy in Dniester. However, quite remarkable is his next statement that "with the arrival of Vasile Calmoi, the situation has changed. First of all, thanks to joint actions undertaken by Chisinau and Tiraspol. Through working meetings held under the control of the leadership of the 'Moldovan Dniester Republic' and President Snegur, a general understanding was reached, leading to an end of terrorist activities in Dniester. I will tell you something. This is indeed Mr. Calmoi's great merit. Thanks to the efforts made by the authorities of the Republic of Moldova and our corresponding actions, meetings between our leaders have become possible and are actually taking place even now. Before that, one could not even conceive of a meeting between Mircea Snegur and Igor Smirnov (chief of the secessionists' executive in Tiraspol—editorial note). Whether all these meetings will lead to concrete results, this is another matter. How long can this process last? Well, at least 30 years. The important thing is not to have war."

Therefore, at least 30 years must pass until the problem of the Dniester regions of the Republic of Moldova is solved. Of course, this is the opinion of our interviewee, whose further elaboration is quite edifying: "Dniester is Russia's last bridgehead to the Balkans." And that explains everything.

## Social Democrat's Chairman Criticizes Parliament

*AU0708201293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1753 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 6/8/1993—The current situation in Moldova can be appreciated as an extremely profound and broad crisis. It is not caused by the 14th Army, by the "bad guys" Rutskoy and Khasbulatov or by the "good guy" Yeltsin. The main causes come from the inside, stated to GRAZHDANSKIY MIR (Civilian Peace) Oazu Nantoi, chairman of the Social-Democratic Party [PSD] of Moldova. We halted in our way from a Soviet society to a society based on justice; the most rotten element in the state structure is the parliament, states Nantoi. Moldova turned out to be not prepared for independence, as it was part of an empire, he added. "The emotional and romantic attitude, i.e. the incompetence for the political situation lasted too long here. This was because we inherited more from Vladimir Lenin than from Stefan cel Mare." The Social-Democrats did not expect Petru Lucinschi to be elected for speaker: This experienced politician will officially prove that the parliament is helpless. What is happening now in Moldova can be regarded as discreditation of statehood, says Nantoi. The idea to dissolve the parliament is firmly promoted by the Social-Democratic Party, which "hides not its ties with the Moscow Movement for Democratic Reforms, led by Volskiy and supported by Rutskoy" states GLASUL NATIUNII (Voice of the Nation). According to this magazine, if the parliament is dissolved, Social-Democrats could win the elections and Oazu Nantoi could become president of Moldova. In addition, the PSD has an enormous influence on the disheartened president, making him fight with the parliamentary opposition."

## Dniester Communist Party Issues Appeal

*AU0708201393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1753 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Tiraspol, BASAPRESS 6/8/1993—The Communist Party of Transdniester (some 2,000 members, mostly veterans; first secretary—Ivan Koshevol) had published an appeal to restore the Moldovan Communist Party. The Communists will still use the Marxist-Leninist doctrine; they plead against privatization and private property, the appeal says. According to it, the bourgeoisie, which came to power in all ex-Soviet republics, is guilty for the economic disaster. The Communist Party of Transdniester declared that it accepted a confederation of Transdienster and Moldova only if the Moldovan leadership agreed to rejoin the restored Soviet Union.

## Kazakhstan

### Grain Agreement Signed With Belarus

*LD0608171493 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Kazakh 0100 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] An intergovernmental agreement between Kazakhstan and Belarus on grain deliveries and help in harvesting was concluded in Almaty as a result of the talks between the official delegations led by Sergey Kulagin, Kazakhstani deputy prime minister, and Aleksandr Bokach, deputy chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers. Kazakhstan will deliver one million tonnes of grain to Belarus: 500,000 tonnes in the second half of the current year and 500,000 in the first half of 1994. Of this amount, 350,000 tonnes will be delivered via the Kazkhleboprodukt concern and 150,000 tonnes via direct economic agreements from Kustanay oblast this year. In 1994, this ratio will be the opposite. Belarus, in its turn, will send to Kustanay Oblast 2,000 trucks with drivers and the same number of combine operators. The Governments of Kazakhstan and Belarus, together with the national banks of the republics will determine the conditions, terms of payment for grain deliveries, and means of payment and prepayment by 15 August. The sides agreed to update accounts for 1992 and the corresponding accounts as of 1 August 1993 as well as to sign the appropriate agreement on mutual state debts, also by 15 August.

### Kazakh, PRC Parliamentary Delegations Hold Talks

*LD0608194893 Almaty KAZTAG in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Talks were held between the official delegations of the Supreme Kenges [parliament] of Kazakhstan and the All-Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives on 5 August at the House of Parliament.

Head of Parliament Serikbolsyn Abdildin briefed the guests on the situation in the republic and the principles that are being used in the work of the highest legislative body. He noted in particular that annually Kazakhstan receives an average per capita of 2 tonnes of crops, 1.5 tonnes of oil, 2 tonnes of iron ore, and holds one of the leading places in these indices. [passage omitted]

With regard to foreign policy, Kazakhstan strives to establish mutually beneficial relations with all countries of goodwill and strengthen peace and stability, both on the regional and global scale.

Touching upon the activity of the Supreme Kenges, its chairman singled out the fact that within a period of almost three years of parliament's activity a new Constitution, 240 laws, and 668 resolutions were endorsed by it. This is of great importance for the successful construction of a truly independent state. Experts and leaders of many foreign countries have high regard for parliament's high level of work.

The head of the Chinese delegation Tomur Dawamat spoke in favor of strengthening traditionally friendly relations between his country and neighboring Kazakhstan which are being effectively exorcised. Agreements signed in the trade-economic, scientific-technical, and other spheres prove this.

During the meeting they specified ways for establishing wide contacts between the two parliaments and governments and developing economic and cultural ties, friendship and bilateral cooperation.

In the afternoon Nursultan Nazarbayev received the Chinese parliamentary delegation. He said that due to the fact that Kazakhstan has gained its independence, the relations between us should be built on a principally new basis. The head of state expressed his satisfaction with the talks on border issues during which the sides have shown proximity of views on the existing problems and ways of tackling them. This proves that China has a friendly attitude towards its neighbor.

Kazakhstanis place great hopes in the Trans-Asiatic railway which is also being eagerly constructed by China. It will become one of the main routes leading to the world market. The president expressed hope for establishing much closer contacts in the transport area and the maximum use of the rich potential for economic cooperation.

Nazarbayev received with gratitude the invitation of the PRC leadership to visit China. He went on to note that there are a lot of issues to be discussed at a high level. With China's support, Kazakhstan will find the route not only to the Pacific ocean, but also to the Middle East. It will be useful for our republic to study the experience of the PRC in building its economy and free economic zones.

The president noted that the Chinese Government was one of the first to support his initiative on convening the Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Cooperation in Asia. It was very important. The countries of the region should address their problems themselves without seeking help elsewhere. [passage omitted]

In the evening a dinner was given in honor of the Chinese guests on behalf of the Supreme Kenges chairman. On Friday and Saturday the Chinese parliamentarians will tour the Kokchetay Oblast.

## Tajikistan

### Tajik, Afghan Foreign Ministers To Prepare Summit

*LD0808093893 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0800 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Yesterday Imamali Rakhmanov, chairman of the Tajikistan Supreme Soviet, received Mohammad Amani, personal representative of Borhonoddin Rabbani, president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. The

Afghan diplomat informed Imamali Rakhmanov that he was entrusted to deliver a letter from the Afghan president. The letter deals with issues on the Afghan-Tajik border connected with the [word indistinct] bilateral relations between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic State of Afghanistan.

The Afghan side agrees with the proposal to hold talks in Dushanbe between the two heads of state in the first half of August of the current year. Before these talks the foreign ministers of the two countries will hold talks on 10 August.

### Government Troops on 'Offensive' in Gorno-Badakhshan

*LD0808105093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the Pamirs in Tajikistan remains extremely complex. Quoting the press service of the oblast executive committee of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, INTERFAX reports that this morning an aircraft without markings delivered a bomb strike on the positions of the Gorno-Badakhshan self-defense detachments near the Khabu-Rabot Pass. So far, official sources in Dushanbe have made no comments on the report. However, earlier the Tajik authorities denied using aviation against the self-defense detachments.

The press service of the Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast Executive Committee also announced that a convoy of armored vehicles was moving in the direction of the Khabu-Rabot Pass. An offensive by the government forces aimed at seizing this strategic height is not ruled out.

### Fighting in Tavildara Viewed

*LD0808210293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By correspondent S. Sokolova from Tajikistan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The area of Tajikistan where tension is highest is the Tavildara gorge, which separates Gorno-Badakhshan from the central region of Tajikistan. According to the information of the National Security Committee, a 300-strong anti-government armed group has concentrated here.

The Obikhingou river, the dividing line between the government and the anti-government forces, has in effect become a frontline. According to the information of the National Security Committee again, in the last few weeks over a dozen armed groups of Islamic fundamentalists have penetrated into the Tavildara area from Afghan territory through the Khaburobad mountain pass. It is virtually impossible to take control of the pass. By now, there have been dozens of casualties on either side. However, according to Tajikistan's Defense Ministry, there have fortunately been no civilian casualties throughout the hostilities.

Local observers believe that the stability of the situation in Tajikistan as a whole depends on the outcome of the Tavildara confrontation.

### Opposition Groups Fight Government Forces

*LD0808214493 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By correspondent A. Samoletov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An extremely difficult situation has arisen in the Gorno-Badakhshan region, and official Tajikistan's refusal to make contact with the opposition has only exacerbated the situation. One key aspect of the how the conflict will develop further is the outcome of the clash between Tajik opposition groups and the government detachments of official Dushanbe. The fact is mthat on the contiguous Afghan territory, in the area of (Zigar), about 20-30 kilometers from Khorog, there is a major group numbering about 1,000.

Some reports indicate that if the fighters of the Tajik opposition in Gorno-Badakhshan are victorious, this group could move over to active actions in the Khorog area, to join up with Tavildara fighters. At the same time, diverting the Russian border forces and carrying out periodic blows on frontier posts, this grouping is trying to join up with Golboddin Hekmatyar's fighters. This will in its turn exacerbate relations in the region of the 12th and 15th outposts, where repeated attacks have already taken place.

### Clashes Continue

*LD0908080993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Dushanbe August 9—Clashes continue between Tajik Defence Ministry forces and the anti-government grouping near the Pamir mountains, ITAR-TASS learned at the press centre of the Defence Ministry on Monday morning.

The government forces are shelling the heights near the Khabu-Rabot mountain crossing where separate groups of Islamic militants are dug in.

The military categorically rejected media reports alleging that the government troops shelled residential areas, killing and wounding civilians. The aim of the operation, according to the military sources, is to neutralise anti-government forces and free the mountain crossing through which a major truck convoy with food, fuel and other essentials is expected to travel soon from Dushanbe to the Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region.

### Russian Border Troops Lack Equipment

*LD0608213693 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By correspondent A. Kondrashov from Tajikistan; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, which is getting out of control more and more often, is determined, unfortunately, not just through the opposition and Mojahedin becoming more active. In the situation that Russian border troops find themselves in today, it is simply impossible to guard the border normally. The shortage of personnel alone is getting on for nearly 50 percent.

It is a similar story with the military and technical equipment. The 1,200 km border with Afghanistan is virtually not provided with special equipment for stopping border violations. A year ago, the now overthrown government of Tajikistan refused to supply food to Russian air defense troops. Afghanistan was declared a friendly state and the air defense ring, which was seen to be inexpedient, was simply liquidated. Today, when all air defense points have been mothballed, the airspace is being violated six times a day from the Afghan side. It is quite possible that personnel and weapons have already been concentrated in the rear of the border outposts. It is paradoxical that Russia has the funds for the complete equipping of this border. The work is not being carried out simply because no long-term political decision has been taken. In the meantime, our border troops are very much like hostages.

### 'Large Consignment' of Weapons Collected at Border

*PM0608135993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 93*

[By Alisher Khodzhayev from the Tajik-Afghan border; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Khodzhayev] The operation to comb the area around the No. 11 border post and the ruins of the mountain village of Vari yielded rich trophies. Large consignments of weapons were found in mountain caves around the border post and confiscated from border violators who had infiltrated Tajik territory.

This exhibition—there is no other word for it—shows that for the time being automatic weapons have the edge over dialogue about the border problem.

The trophies confiscated from the border violators include weapons of Chinese, Yugoslav, and Romanian manufacture, codes, and lists of members of combat groups.

[Unidentified soldier] All this literature and these lists were found in the area where the fighting took place on the territory of the No. 11 border post. Here is a sketch of the No. 11 border post—the watch tower, the border post itself, a couple of small cabins, the orchard, the river, and here is the ravine, and this is where their observer was posted adjusting the fire of their mortars and rocket launchers.

[Khodzhayev] The border guards invited journalists, including foreign journalists, to take a look at the big haul. But the reporters were more drawn to another picture—young children next to mountains of lethal weaponry. Yes, it is a sad sight, an unenviable childhood.

### More Refugees Return From Afghanistan

*LD0608170993 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] By 3 August, 534 more of our compatriots had returned home to Kabodiyonskiy, Shaartuzskiy, and Kolkhozobadskiy Rayons from the Islamic State of Afghanistan. They returned via Shir Khan harbor [in Afghanistan] on 29 July and were thoroughly checked in the health camps because of an outbreak of cholera. Umarov, chief of the board on refugees' issues of the executive committee of Khatlon Oblast, said there are many people in the Tajik refugee camps who wish to return home, but it is important to check them thoroughly in the check camps because of the outbreak of cholera.

On the day a KHOVAR news agency correspondent went to Nizhniy Pyandzh, representatives of the independent international organization Medecins Sans Frontieres were there to check whether the refugees' health is good and if they have enough medicines.

## Armenia

### Ter-Petrosyan Welcomes Baku-Stepanakert Dialogue

*LD0708154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1430 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Aug—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan today issued a statement welcoming dialogue between Baku and Stepanakert as "the first serious step toward creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust between the clashing sides." The Armenian president expressed satisfaction about the agreements on a temporary cease-fire reached during the meetings between the Azerbaijan and Karabakh representatives. L. Ter-Petrosyan called upon the warring sides to refrain from "further expansion of combat actions, from seizing new territories, from artillery, missile, or air shelling, and bombing." At the same time, the Armenian leader expressed concern at attempts to turn the Azerbaijan-Karabakh dialogue into an alternative to the Minsk CSCE process and called for every possible step to be taken to include the contacts which have been begun within the framework of the CSCE's efforts.

L. Ter-Petrosyan called upon the Nagorno-Karabakh leadership to show a constructive approach to implementing the resolutions of the UN Security Council and the CSCE peacekeeping program, and to take part in the Rome consultations of the CSCE Minsk group.

In conclusion, the Armenian president called upon the authorities of Azerbaijan and Turkey to refrain from unilateral assessments which contradict the decisions of international organizations. In Yerevan's opinion, such assessments not only do not promote a peaceful settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem but also complicate even further the most complex peace process within the CSCE framework.

### Karabakh Official Blames CSCE for Lack of Settlement

*NC0708135093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1019 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Stepanakert, August 7 (SNARK)—"There is no doubt about that the disruption the arrangement on armistice by Azerbaijan is caused by Azerbaijan rousing from the UN last resolution concerning to Karabakh" Masis Mailian, official from Karabakh Foreign Ministry said to SNARK.

It is reminded that today morning the Azerbaijani Army suddenly has taken the offensive simultaneously in several directions of Karabakh front. It has happened just before the meeting of countries-members of Minsk group of CSCE in Rome.

According to Mailian the Baku's behavior is caused by unbalanced and tendentious relation of CSCE and Security Council of UN to the appreciation of situation in Karabakh. "So the Minsk group of CSCE destroyed the shoots of political progress between Karabakh and Azerbaijan. In its turn, one more time, the Azerbaijani guidance has shown its will don't achieve the settlements by the way of dialog and to adhere to the force means," Mailian mentioned.

### Azerbaijan Reportedly Shelling Karabakh Settlements

*NC0608181393 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] As we have already reported, representatives of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and Azerbaijan concluded an agreement on 5 August to extend the cease-fire on the battlefront for another three days. It is assumed that the negotiations will continue during this period to bring about a high-level meeting between NKR and Azerbaijani leaders.

However, once again ignoring the provisions of the cease-fire agreement, the Azerbaijani formations launched a massive rocket and artillery attack on Gadrut and nearby Armenian villages from their military bases in Fizulinskiy Rayon beginning at 0500 today.

As we have already reported, large concentration of Azerbaijani military hardware, artillery, and troops are being observed in this zone. The NKR Army headquarters considers the rocket and artillery shelling to be preparation for the expected attack against Gadrutskiy Rayon.

Relative calm prevailed in the other regions of N..R.

The situation was sharply aggravated on Armenia's northeastern border on the evening of 5 August. As of (1600), the enemy subjected the settlements in Tavushskiy Rayon to nine hours of shelling using various types of weapons. The Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that (eight) civilians were injured, two of them seriously. The Armenian forces retaliated.

The defensive positions near Kogb in Noyemberyanskiy Rayon and Vahan in Krasnoselskiy Rayon were also subjected to artillery shelling late at night on 5 August. There were no casualties.

### Reportedly Attacking Gadrutskiy

*NC0708132093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1019 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Names as received]

[Text] Stepanakert, August 7 (SNARK)—Azerbaijan demonstratively disrupted the arrangement on armistice, achieved between Azerbaijan and Karabakh earlier. SNARK has been informed by Department of Information and Press of Karabakh today at night the

detachments of Azerbaijani Army launched the attack against Edillu village of Gadrutskiy region at North of Karabakh, and they occupy Menghelanatap strategical important hillock.

Then, at morning of August 7, the Azerbaijani side, extending the scales of military actions, simultaneously has taken the offensive in several directions—to the Edillu-Gadrutskiy direction and against Novruzlu and Kengerly villages in Agdamskiy zone, Khtsaberd and Hin Taglar settlements at south of Gadrutskiy part of front. The considerable amount of armored forces is taken place in the actions.

The units of Karabakh Army are suppress the enemy's attack. Both of sides have a loses. By the afternoon of 7th of August the hard battles are going on.

### Press Secretary on Baku-Karabakh Dialogue, Ruble Zone

*NC0608152893 Yerevan SNARK in English 1408 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Yerevan, August 6 (SNARK)—Armenia expresses her desire to stay in the rouble zone, Aram Abrahamyan has again confirmed the position of the republic.

Aram Abrahamyan, a press-secretary of the Armenian president, told SNARK that the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh is independently, without any assistance, accepting his own decisions and determining his position in the problem of the Karabakh conflict regulation. The Armenian Government is supporting direct dialog between Stepanakert and Baku and is of the opinion that the UNO should undertake the control over peace process within the CSCE.

### Karabakh Official Questions Baku's Reliability

*NC0608141393 Yerevan SNARK in English 1131 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Stepanakert, August 6 (SNARK)—The Security Council of the UNO accepted the 853 Resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh and the official Baku gives no attention to the starting direct negotiations with Stepanakert.

Arkadiy Gukasyan, the Karabakh foreign minister, told SNARK that Azerbaijan hopes that the world community will make pressure on Armenia and Karabakh in connection with the Agdam events. Azerbaijan tries not to follow the achieved agreements with the Karabakh representatives.

If Azerbaijan doesn't change his course, the leadership of the Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh will be in doubts on the possibility of the Baku authority to be a reliable partner in realizing the bilateral agreements and the peace-making initiatives the CSCE, or the UNO or other international organizations make.

## Azerbaijan

### Defense Ministry Reports Armenian Attack on Fizuli

*LD0708155793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1500 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Report by AZERTAC correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 7 Aug—The Armenian armed forces stationed in the Karabakh zone of Azerbaijan are advancing on the southwestern Fizulinskiy and Agdzhabedinskiy Rayons of the republic, Azerbaijan's Defense Ministry said today. In violation of the previously agreed 3-day cease-fire, the Armenian troops, after massed artillery preparation, this morning launched an offensive against Fizuli, administrative center of the rayon of the same name, and approached the village of Karamdly, two kilometers from the city. But after a battle lasting many hours, says the ministry, the attack was beaten off by subunits of the Azerbaijan army.

The same source says that the Armenian armed forces occupying Agdam are attempting a push toward the Agdzhabedinskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, the centers of population of which are being subjected to constant shelling from the earlier captured villages of Agdamskiy rayon.

The ministry says the villages of Novosaratovka and Novoivanovka in Kadabekskiy Rayon on the border with Armenia are still being shelled. Destruction has occurred in both villages.

The ministry has denied Armenian reports of an offensive by the Azerbaijan army in Karabakh. Military experts in Baku believe the reports are aimed at justifying the violation of the cease-fire by the Armenian side and the new advances of the Armenian forces into Azerbaijan's territories.

According to an ITAR-TASS correspondent, quoting confidential sources, Fizuli—the administrative center of the rayon of the same name—will most likely suffer the same sad fate of the rayon centers Khodzhaly, Shusha, Lachin, Kelbadzhar, and Agdam. The sources think this may happen on 14 August.

### Border Settlements Shelled

*NC0808142093 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 1350 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku 08.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Armenian helicopters violate Azerbaijan state borders, fired town Tauz, which locates at the distance of 15 km from the Armenian border at the west of republic. After firing bordering villages, 2 Armenian helicopters MI-24, rocketed the Province center of Tauz. Damages and losses among civilians are reported. Today the bordering settlements of Kazakhskiy, Akstafa and Kedabekskiy Provinces have been also shelled from Armenian territory. After the night attacks on bordering village Kellugishlar

of Zangelanskiy Province Armenian troops attacked the village again at 12.30. The fights continue.

### Fighting Continues Around Fizuli

*NC0808164493 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Gadrut, Azerbaijan, Aug 8 (AFP)—Fighting between Azeri forces and Armenian separatists raged on Sunday [8 August] in and around the frontline town of Fizuli as both sides accused each other of violating a ceasefire in the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Five Armenian soldiers were killed and 15 wounded Sunday in an Azeri attack along strategic heights between Fizuli, several kilometers (miles) east of the enclave, and Gadrut, which is inside Nagorno-Karabakh, the Armenian separatist general staff reported.

Meanwhile the population of Fizuli, the frontline between the warring parties at the time of the July 25 truce, continued to flee from the town en masse.

The town was now almost empty of civilians who had been fleeing the battle zone for days in lorries, separatist commander Mamvel Grigoryan told AFP.

Azerbaijani armed vehicles were patrolling the suburbs of the town, while the enemy lines were separated by just 600 metres (660 yards), he added.

Azerbaijani planes had also bombarded several villages around Gadrut late Saturday, Grigoryan added.

The Azerbaijani defence ministry said Armenian forces had captured the village of Karamdly, north-west of Fizuli, Interfax reported. The ministry said fighting was continuing near the village of Dilagarda, north of Fizuli, through which Armenian tanks were trying to reach the town. It denied its forces had broken the ceasefire, which was extended for three days Friday, the ITAR-TASS news agency reported. The ministry accused the separatists of launching their own offensive in an attempt to seize Fizuli and of taking the suburb of Karamdly. But the ministry confirmed fighting was continuing around the town.

Several villages along the border with Armenia were bombarded Saturday and Sunday from inside Armenia, the ministry added.

Meanwhile separatist authorities in the provincial capital Stepanakert said Azerbaijani planes launched an attack Saturday on Agdam airport, the site of Azerbaijani military headquarters near the enclave which fell to the Armenians at the end of July.

In Yerevan, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan signed a decree ordering the mobilisation of reserve officers from within the medical profession, Interfax reported.

The July 25 ceasefire accord in Nagorno-Karabakh was earlier marred by clashes in the enclave's mountains, with both sides again blaming each other for the resumption of hostilities.

Armenian forces control most of Nagorno-Karabakh, having inflicted a series of military defeats on Azerbaijan which has also been riven by domestic turmoil which led to the ouster of President Abulfaz Elchibey.

Azerbaijan has been trying to subdue a separatists' uprising in the disputed enclave, populated mainly by ethnic Armenians, for more than five years, making it the longest running conflict in the former Soviet Union.

### Ministry Reports Offensive Stopped

*LD0808191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1901 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Shulman]

[Text] Baku August 8 TASS—Fierce fighting continued on Sunday [8 August] evening on the approaches to the district centre of Fizuli in the south east of Azerbaijan, says a report of the Information and Analytical Centre of the Azeri Defence Ministry with a reference to the Fizuli defence staff. By eight p.m. local time (identical with Moscow time), Azeri troops drove Armenian units out of Karamdly village situated two kilometres away from Fizuli. The village had been taken by Armenian units earlier on Sunday.

The source reports the Armenian offensive on Fizuli from the north was stopped near Dilagard village. Two Armenian tanks were hit by shells. But the danger of an Armenian breakthrough in this direction persists since Armenian troops send reinforcements along the Martuni-Fizuli route.

As a result of the shelling of borderline Azeri areas this Sunday, more than ten houses were destroyed, five peaceful citizens were killed and eleven wounded, the information analytical centre reported. It is also reported that Armenian Armed Forces used Mi-24 combat helicopters against peaceful populated localities of Tausa District in the west of Azerbaijan.

### Khodzhaly Inquiry Finds Mutalibov, Ministers Responsible

*NC0708140493 Baku TURAN in English 1039 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, August 7 (TURAN)—Today Supreme Soviet's newspaper "AZERBAIJAN" has published conclusions of deputate committee of inquiry, investigating genocide in Nagorno-Karabakh and, in particular, in Khodzhaly city.

As it is pointed in the documents of conclusion, 450 people were killed and 400 were wounded in Khodzhaly

in the result of action of 366 motor-infantry unit of 23 division of CIS and Armenian Armed Forces on February 25-26 1992.

The conclusions of the commission were presented to Milli Majlis February 17 1993, but they were not published.

According to the conclusions of the commission ex-President Ayaz Mutalibov, ex-Premier Gasan Gasanov, former ministers of defense, national security and internal affairs and the others "bear some degree of responsibility before Azerbaijan nation for not having safeguard security of Khodzhaly citizens and not having realized their duties."

According to the opinion of observers, publication of this document in August is aimed at not allowing ex-President's Ayaz Mutalibov, whose supporters are undertaking measures for his coming come to political scene of Azerbaijan, returning to Baku. This week "IZVESTIYA" newspaper have published interview of Geydar Aliyev, who had criticized his political rivalry—ex-President Mutalibov.

### Aliyev Details Path to Power

*LD0708214693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1330 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Interview with Acting President Geydar Aliyev with correspondent Marina Tochilina in Baku; date not given; from "the People and Their Chosen Ones" program; subtitled "I Never Wanted Power"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Aliyev] You see, I have never sought power. Since you seem to be so interested in details of my life, I can give you some. I have never sought power. [passage omitted]

[Tochilina] Geydar Aliyevich, the popular idea of a leader is that he is totally different from other people. He has a special diet, keeps a tailor, and generally is different. Are you different? In what way are you different from ordinary mortals?

[Aliyev] I eat only once a day, and that at 11 pm or at midnight, and sometimes even at 1 am. Today I have not had anything to eat since the morning. I had tea in the morning and that was it.

[Tochilina] No special drinks?

[Aliyev] Oh, no, none at all. I do not drink anything. By the way, I had just one suit when I arrived from Nakhichevan, and this is still the only suit I wear.

[Tochilina] What happens when it wears out?

[Aliyev, laughing] I cannot change it—this is the only suit I have here.

[Tochilina] All the same, power is often surrounded with myths.

[Aliyev] Oh yes, and there are many myths surrounding me. They say there is nothing Aliyev does not have.

[Tochilina] What are the things he doesn't have then?

[Aliyev] Well, they say Aliyev has a 3-story house in Nakhichevan, and so on. Then people came from Moscow to where I live, and saw what conditions I live in, and I said: Well, where is that house? Then elsewhere, somebody wrote I had a 3-story house and a harem. Just at that time my son flew in from Moscow and asked: Now, Dad, where is your harem? All right, the house is not there, but perhaps a harem is?

[Tochilina] But among these silly myths about daily life there is also a popular belief that leaders are also different from other people from the moral point of view, and that they are allowed to do what other people may not do—that is, they determine themselves what they may or may not do.

[Aliyev] I do not know who this applies to, but certainly not to me. I lead a most simple life. Even here, I live in my brother's apartment.

[Tochilina] Why?

[Aliyev] Well, because I do not have an apartment here. You are very welcome; I can invite you today to my brother's apartment where I live ...

[Tochilina, interrupting] Really?

[Aliyev] Yes, of course, and a small apartment it is. As a matter of fact, I rent some living space there.

[Tochilina] Are you doing this out of political coquetry?

[Aliyev] No—what else can I do if I have no other place to live? What has this to do with political coquetry? I used to have a 3-room apartment here, and I gave it back to the state when I went away.

[Tochilina] But you have been a leader all your life!

[Aliyev] Was I really?

[Tochilina] Everyone referred to you as a Communist leader.

[Aliyev] But I am telling you about actual facts. When I went to work in Moscow, I returned this apartment and so I have no apartment here. Then, when I came back here in July 1990, I stayed with my brother. After three days, I began to feel that all sorts of things were happening around that house, and I was warned that I had better leave Baku. True, I went into town a couple of times, and my first visit was to the alley of the victims of the January events [clashes between security troops and crowds of people which were ordered by Gorbachev and resulted in numerous casualties].

As soon as I got there—and I arrived suddenly—literally in 15-20 minutes a crowd of more than a 1,000 people gathered around me. [passage omitted]

[Tochilina] Have the people, for whom you are now attempting to do something, not already betrayed you?

[Aliyev] No, the people have never betrayed me.

[Tochilina] How can you say that?

[Aliyev] You know, there have been very many difficulties in my life. I have experienced very bitter periods in my life. There have also been times when I have been isolated.

[Tochilina] The Nakhichevan period, for instance?

[Aliyev] Not only the Nakhichevan period. Even in Moscow it was difficult when I resigned. After I resigned, I was surrounded by a very complex situation.

[Tochilina] Like Shakespeare's hero King Lear?

[Aliyev, laughing] I went by air to Nakhichevan. True, I went there without giving anyone any warning. Nor do I have any particular relatives there, but...

[Tochilina, interrupting] Why did you go to Nakhichevan?

[Aliyev] I went there because that is where I was born. It is the place where I was born. In addition, Nakhichevan is a long way from Baku, and it is also ...

[Tochilina, interrupting] An island.

[Aliyev, laughing] Yes, a small island. I went therefore by air to this island. There the children of my late sister—there is no one else left—met me at the airport. It is true, however, that I had literally not had time to leave the airfield before people learned that I had appeared there. The news spread throughout the whole of Nakhichevan. I returned home with my relatives. They have a tiny little house and a tiny yard.

[Tochilina] Really?

[Aliyev] Yes, indeed.

[Tochilina] I suppose it had a bath and hot water?

[Aliyev, laughing] No, what is this about a bath and hot water? There was no water there. No, there was, of course, none of that. Well, literally a few hours later, a stream of people began to call. These ordinary people came along without being hampered. Well, they had not seen me for a long time.

[Tochilina] Did this please you?

[Aliyev] Well, it was of course a moving experience. Toward seven in the evening, I was informed that on Freedom Square—this is a large square in Nakhichevan ...

[Tochilina] This was on the same day?

[Aliyev] Yes, the same day. The whole of Nakhichevan had indeed assembled on Freedom Square, and I was asked to go there. It is true that the leadership of the Nakhichevan Oblast party committee was very worried over the fact that there would be a rally there and that this would be perceived in a very negative way by the Azerbaijan leadership. The first secretary of the oblast party committee visited me there and began to confer with me, saying that perhaps I should not go to the square. I said to him: Well, then you go there and announce that you are not allowing me to go. His answer was: No, I cannot do that, they will tear me apart. I said in that case I had to go there. It was a hot July day. In summer, it is very hot there. I set out to go there, and getting through to the square was altogether impossible.

Believe me, people were already standing there, and it was possible [as heard] to enter the square. From where I was, I got to the center of the square with the help of the police, who made a kind of corridor for me to pass through.

[Tochilina] [words indistinct]

[Aliyev] It took 40 minutes to get through. It is a little immodest perhaps to talk about this, but people were kneeling before me.

[Tochilina] Like before their father?

[Aliyev] Yes, they were embracing me, kissing me, and the rest of it. I can remember it now, yes. [passage omitted]

The rally kept going all day on the square. About 60,000 people. All day they were demanding that I take on the post of chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic. On the one hand, it was of course pleasant that the people of an albeit small republic were demanding that, and on the other hand it was a little embarrassing because I had been leader of Azerbaijan. I had been one of the leaders of a great power such as the Soviet Union. Now I had to sit in a little autonomous republic, a little island, you understand, and be its leader. Better to be a nobody than do that. But you know, the people were asking me from early morning to late evening. Only when I agreed did the crowd disperse. Although in fact I did not agree, because the resolution was issued without my consent. Applause broke out around the square, and they asked me to appear before them. I went before them. That is, it was not my desire, but the desire of the people. Now, I am here.

[Tochilina] Had you any idea that you would end up here, when you were in Nakhichevan?

[Aliyev] None whatsoever, and neither did I want to. Believe me, I did not want to.

[Tochilina] Really?

[Aliyev] No way did I want to. No way. Because I knew how difficult the situation was here in Azerbaijan. [passage omitted]

Who needed it? I did not live well in Nakhichevan, but I do not live any better here.

[Tochilina] Yes.

[Aliyev] For over a year, Nakhichevan was blockaded. It still is. You see, the railways and roads were out of action. With great difficulty, I managed to make contact with the leaderships of Turkey and Iran, with whom Nakhichevan shares borders.

[Tochilina] Personal contacts?

[Aliyev] I have old personal contacts. There were some old acquaintances from my previous post both in the Turkish and Iranian leaderships. I started getting food through from there, and humanitarian aid, and fuel and so forth. There was no electricity, you see. We were blockaded. All links between Azerbaijan and Nakhichevan were disrupted in Armenia. The railways and roads were out of action.

[Tochilina] There was a war on as well.

[Aliyev] There was a war on, and we were in a little island. Incidentally, this little autonomous republic has almost 300 kilometers of border with Armenia.

[Tochilina] Right.

[Aliyev] I had to maintain calm there. There was war all around, but not there.

[Tochilina] How did you keep things stable there? Why were you able to do that?

[Aliyev] I managed to agree with the Armenian leadership. I managed to get an agreement, because I could see how senseless this war was. I was able to agree with them that we will not touch them and they will not touch us. They accepted that. But we were without electricity for over four months and with great difficulty we laid a big power-supply line from Turkey and another one from Iran. For several months, we were completely without electric power; we were using paraffin lamps. There was no water. There are heavy frosts there, up to 30 degrees. We chopped down nearly all our trees, 70 percent of them. When I went anywhere and saw people chopping down trees I would say to them, do not do that. They would say ...

[Tochilina, interrupting] It was cold.

[Aliyev] They would say, we can tolerate this kind of cold, but our children cannot, they are dying of cold, and we have to save them. I survived that harsh winter together with the people. In speeches to them, I told them on many occasions that I am here with you. If we die here, if we die of cold, if we die of hunger then we die together. But we will not die! [laughs]

So, living in those conditions with everyone else, I could understand that although those were difficult times at least there was not a war, there was a more or less stable situation, and so on. I was running a small republic. It was okay. What did I need this for? Then there were the bloody events in Ganja on 4 June.

True, I did not know the details, because the lines to Nakhichevan were very bad. We would often have interruptions in television broadcasts. As early as 6 June they started ringing me. Incidentally, this was the leadership of Azerbaijan, which had not helped us during the blockade. Abulfaz Elchibey himself, who turned to me several times, although he's now in hiding in Nakhichevan ..

[Tochilina] Why Nakhichevan again?

[Aliyev, laughing] Well, he is in his home village, where he was born. But the people in Nakhichevan know that he did not help his fellow countrymen in those difficult times.

[Tochilina] People will not take to the square?

[Aliyev] He did not help his own people. But despite the fact that we had a difficult relationship because of that, he started calling me on 6 June. I turned him down. They sent an aircraft especially for me, on 7 June. I sent it back. Then the deputy prime minister arrived, a man who had had contact with me and could talk me into it.

[Tochilina] How did they try to persuade you?

[Aliyev] They just reasoned with me; he sat with me all day long telling me about the hard time Azerbaijan was going through, and that I was the only person respected by the people, so I should come to Baku and help get out of this situation.

[Tochilina] So that there should not arise an internal war.

[Aliyev] It had already started, this internal war. They sent a plane on the 7th, and the prime minister arrived as well. We sent the plane back, but he stayed on. He distracted me from my work for the whole day. He sat with me until late at night. On the 8th, they sent a plane once again and we again sent it back. I said: I am not going. On the 9th and around these days, Abulfaz Elchibey, the president, phoned me every day. I also had phone calls from Isa Gambarov, the chairman of the parliament, and from Panakh Guseynov, the chairman of the council of ministers, that is, the prime minister—who, incidentally, had never phoned me before and had rarely answered my phone calls. But I am not a malicious person on the whole, I understood that they had got themselves into a difficult situation and that they needed help. But at the same time, I understood how complicated the whole issue was.

[Tochilina] You did not like them, and still you wanted to help them?

[Aliyev] It was not them I wanted to help. I wanted to help the people. I did not want to go there, I wanted to give advice or something like that. And then, on the 9th I felt—not because they were sinking, but because it was

all so bad and the republic was on the brink of a civil war and my endless refusals had already become known to the public—I had had appeals from representatives of the intelligentsia and clergy, the elders of high esteem, and not only them—then I thought: what will they say about me? They will say, at a difficult time we approached him and he did not respond. So, on the 9th at 2 pm I finally arrived here. [passage omitted]

The regime trained people to behave in such a way that few of them expressed independent opinions, and it was even difficult to make them speak. But I have always encouraged this as far as I could. In those times, as I was going up the ladder, I never asked to be promoted to a more superior post. Please believe me that, had it not been for the late Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov—whom, incidentally, I respected deeply and who persuaded me that it was my duty to agree ...

[Tochilina, interrupting] Because otherwise someone else might take the post?

[Aliyev] No, not because of that. He was sincere. You see now a lot of absurd things are being said about the former leaders who are now dead—you understand, this is easy because they are gone and cannot answer back. There have also been slanderous attacks on me to which I tried to reply but could not.

For example, there were slanderous articles about me—I was then still a member of the CPSU Central Committee. I said to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev: Mikhail Sergeyevich, they are writing libelous things about me in the paper. But he did not defend me. You see? Even at the CPSU plenary meeting, which I attended as a rank-and-file member of the CPSU Central Committee, I got up and addressed Gorbachev, the general secretary who was chairing the session. I said: You see, I am being slandered, please give me a chance to reply. But I was not given a chance to reply.

You see, when that dirty article was published about me after my speech at the rally on 21 January 1990 in Moscow—a large article appeared in PRAVDA on 4 February—I then phoned Frolov, the editor of PRAVDA, with whom I had worked and who had seemed to be on quite friendly terms. I asked for an opportunity to write at least a few lines in reply, but he did not give me that opportunity. I phoned Nenashev, the television chairman—who, by the way, in his capacity as the chairman of the committee for television under the Council of Ministers was my subordinate as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. He said to me: Geydar Aliyevich, you understand—I respect you, but you understand I cannot do this. I said: Give me just three minutes on air to answer this.

In those times, not only those who were no longer alive could not reply, but also living people were barred from speaking.

[Tochilina] When you were thinking about what to do, did you reassess in any way ...

[Aliyev, interrupting] Yes, I reassessed all of this, and in the summer I traveled back to Moscow. In 1991, I lived there for a couple of months, because my kids were there. There I decided to leave the Communist Party. Yes, I went to the Kremlin, I made an application to the party organization ...

[Tochilina, interrupting] Can you just go into the Kremlin ...

[Aliyev, interrupting] Well, I rang the party committee there, in the Kremlin, at the Council of Ministers. They obligingly received me, because, well, but they did not know why I had come. Of course, they were very surprised to hear this there. They said at the party committee, Geydar, think it over, we will talk about it, but I said, there is nothing to talk about, I have decided.

[Tochilina] So you became aware that the regime was wrong even while you were at the very apex of the pyramid?

[Aliyev] Yes, I became aware of it while I was still working in the Politburo, while working in Moscow, I realized, and some of my arguments, some of my differences at that time, especially with Gorbachev, actually stemmed from that.

[Tochilina] Was it that he personally offended you, or were there some fundamental...

[Aliyev, interrupting] You see, he developed some kind of personal animosity toward me, although previously, it seemed, as far as I could tell, I do not know what he was feeling inside, but as far as I could tell, we had good relations. But you know, people change, I have seen this many times. A person has one face in one situation, and another face in another situation. When he was working in Stavropol, for example, or when he was an ordinary secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, we used to embrace and kiss. When he became general secretary—and by the way, as a member of the Politburo, I was one of the first to vote, these matters were decided in a narrow circle, it was the members of the Politburo that decided these matters—when he became general secretary, he started getting snotty, and then these relations got to the stage of getting strained.

[Tochilina] I wanted to ask you about that—alongside this indifference to power, such a bacchanalia of receptions for Brezhnev in Baku—how did this come about, if you did not need it? How did this come about if you did not need it?

[Aliyev] I did not need it.

[Tochilina] Then why was there all this flattery ...

[Aliyev, interrupting] Where was there not any flattery toward Brezhnev, tell me? Was there not any in Moscow? All this flattery originated from the Kremlin. All these albums on the life and work of Brezhnev—where were they compiled? They were compiled in the

Kremlin, in the CPSU Central Committee, in the Politburo. All those awards—who gave them to Brezhnev? It was the Politburo, Moscow, the CPSU Central Committee. You see, all those films that were made about him—where were they made?

We simply copied everything that came out of the Kremlin in a conscientious manner.

[Tochilina] You are a clever guy—you must have realized how ludicrous it all was.

[Aliyev] At that time, there was nothing else; there was no other choice then.

[Tochilina] Geydar Aliyevich, what do you think the reason is for these conflicts in the upper echelons of power in the post-Communist period?

[Aliyev] Unfortunately, with all this chaos and confusion—not only in Azerbaijan but in many other regions of the former Soviet Union, indeed, not just in the Soviet Union but in other regions of the world—you understand—this desire of separate groups, separate individuals, and separate political forces for power, for power you understand, has led directly to these conflicts. I never strove for power, believe me, I did not want this power and do not want it. I say this openly to you. But look how many people here are fighting among themselves just to occupy some post or other while we are in this complex situation, when Azerbaijan has essentially been in a state of war for five years now, and when more than 10 or 15 percent of Azerbaijan's land has been captured by Armenia or Armenian armed forces. This is the people's tragedy. This is today's tragedy. Society's tragedy.

## Aliyev Meets Iranian Envoy, Discusses Ties

*LD0808170693 Tehran IRNA in English 1636 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, Aug. 8, IRNA—Acting President of Azerbaijan Republic, Gaydar Aliyev today said that despite false propaganda and various plots hatched by the enemies, the grounds for full-fledged expansion of relations between Tehran and Baku have been paved.

Talking to Iran's ambassador here, 'Ali Akbar Nehavandian, Aliyev appreciated Iran's assistance to solve the Autonomous Republic of Nakhichevan's problem.

He said he was confident of continued Iranian assistance to Azerbaijan.

The Azeri official underscored maintenance of Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and independence and said the republic's recent defeats were due to power struggle there.

"In this critical juncture Azerbaijan is trying to avoid power struggle and instead reconstruct the country with the people's help, defend its territorial integrity and national unity, and revive ideology and faith in the society," said Aliyev.

Nehavandian, in return briefed Aliyev on Iran's explicit condemnation of Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan, calling for peaceful settlement of disputes between the two republics.

He said Iran was always for preservation of peace and stability in the region and in Azerbaijan and was fully ready to continue supply of humanitarian relief aid to the republic.

## Elchibey Opposes Planned Referendum on Vote of Confidence

*NC0608144693 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0728 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku 06.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Elchibey is against referendum in his opinion, this referendum is illegal. According to the Constitution, the president cannot be removed from his post as a result of referendum, Mr. Abulfaz Elchibey says. Besides that, in compliance with the Article No. 15 of the law on referendum of Azerbaijan Republic, it can't be held earlier than 2 months after the parliament's decision. Opposing the referendum, simultaneously Mr. Elchibey is not against the whole idea of the referendum, and the presidential election ahead of time, but only under certain conditions. Mr. Elchibey called for Milli Mejlis to give up its anti-constitutional activities, he said. Otherwise, Mr. Elchibey said, if his words are not taken into account, he will take resolute measures of political character.

## Deputy Claims Elchibey Will Accept Results

*LD0808191793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] President Abulfaz Elchibey of Azerbaijan approves of the holding of the referendum on confidence in him and will accept its results unconditionally, (Ibragimov), a deputy in the Azerbaijani Parliament, who is maintaining telephone contact with Abulfaz Elchibey, has declared. Elchibey left Baku on the night of 17-18 June and has since then been in his home village in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

It emerged in the debate on the referendum issue in the National Mejlis a few days ago, that gross infringements of the law had been committed during the presidential election a year ago. In particular, forged voting papers were used.

The referendum on confidence in Abulfaz Elchibey will take place on 28 August. It will be held under the state of emergency in Azerbaijan, which has been extended to 2 October in view of the difficult state of affairs at the front, and the deterioration of the crime situation in the republic as a whole.

### People's Front Urges Boycott of Referendum

*NC0808133893 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0959 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku, 08.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—Nakhichevan department of Popular Front calls to boycott referendum on vote of confidence to President Elchibey which will be held on August 29. They explaine this decision as following: presently, 17 per cent of Azerbaijan territory is occupied, about 1 mln people have become refugees besides the referendum is going to be held in state of emergency which is against of Constitution. Nakhichevan department of APF [Azerbaijani People's Front] appealed to Azerbaijan people to support them.

### Cabinet Discusses Measures To Alleviate Bread Shortage

*NC0608150393 Baku ASSA-IRADA in English 0728 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Baku 06.08.93 (ASSA-IRADA)—To introduce coupons for bread or to stabilize prices of bread and flour it was offered at the meeting of minister's cabinet of Azerbaijan headed by Mr. Surat Guseynov. The critical situation with the provision of population with bread was discussed. Among the reasons there were: insufficient supply of flour, the need to reconstruct a number of mills, increase of Baku population caused by influx of refugees, a great disparity in price for bread and flour, etc. At present 450 grams of bread per person is baked in Baku, but this is still not enough because in is taken out of the republic by the residents of Georgia where the bread is much more expensive. The state committee for the provision of population with bread has been formed. It will include heads of ministries and state departments.

## Georgia

### U.S. Embassy Official Shot Dead 8 Aug

*LD0908093493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] As we have already reported, Fred Woodruff, a member of the U.S. Embassy staff in Georgia, was killed last night. Nikolay Mamulashvili, an IPRINDA agency correspondent, has reported from Tbilisi that the Niva car in which the U.S. diplomat was traveling was fired on near the village of Natakhari, near Tbilisi. A Georgian citizen was also in the car: he was seriously wounded. Nikolay Mamulashvili learned in the republican procurator's office that a joint investigation squad has been set up, consisting of staff of the information and investigation service, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Procurator's Office.

### Details on Killing

*AU0908094593 Paris AFP in English 0921 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, Aug 9 (AFP)—Gunmen shot dead U.S. official Fred Woodruff, regional affairs officer in the political section of the embassy, while he was being driven through the outskirts of Tbilisi, the Georgian Interior Ministry said Monday [9 August].

Fred Woodruff was travelling in the car of the commander of Georgian head of state Eduard Shevardnadze's bodyguards on a main road in the outlying suburbs of the Georgian capital when gunmen raked the vehicle with bullets at about midnight Sunday, a reliable source said.

Georgy Gogoladze and his wife were driving back into Tbilisi with Woodruff when the attack occurred, the source said. The Gogoladzes were not hurt.

But the Interfax news agency reported from Moscow that a Georgian citizen in Woodruff's car was seriously wounded in the attack.

President Eduard Shevardnadze reacted to the first reports of Woodruff's killing by saying Monday: "If it is true, we must take urgent measures in Georgia."

Shevardnadze was speaking on Georgian radio before the murder was confirmed.

A U.S. embassy spokesman told AFP that Woodruff was about to complete a six-month tour of duty in Georgia and return to the United States.

### Shevardnadze Reacts

*LD0908123693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[Text] As we have already reported, late last night an American diplomat was killed on the Georgian military highway. Just before the hour we received detailed material about this via telephone from Tbilisi from IPRINDA correspondent Nikolay Mamulashvili.

[Begin Mamulashvili recording] So what happened on the Georgian military highway? At about 2200 on 8 August, at the settlement of Natakhtari, as yet unidentified people opened fire on a Niva car containing Fred Woodruff, head of the political department for regional relations of the U.S. Embassy in Georgia. Unfortunately the American diplomat died from his wounds.

Incidentally, in his traditional radio speech on 9 August, Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state, did not avoid drawing attention to this sorrowful fact. Late last night, Shevardnadze said, I was informed by ministers about this unprecedented occurrence—the murder of an American diplomat—and this event simply doesn't sink in, the head of state continued. Everything possible must be done to secure order and prevent anything similar from occurring.

In connection with the events, Eduard Shevardnadze received Kent Brown, U.S. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia, on the morning of 9 August. The conversation took place behind closed doors.

In an interview for Russia's Radio, Georgian Deputy Procurator General Vakhtan Gvaramia reported that a rather powerful mixed operational group has already been set up and has actively got down to work. This group is made up of representatives of the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], the procuracy, and the information and intelligence service of the Republic. We already have certain material on the incident, Gvaramia said. He also expressed the hope that the crime would be revealed within a very short time and that the criminals would receive their just punishment. However, in the interests of the case, the deputy procurator-general confined himself to saying only this.

Finally, in connection with the tragic death of Fred Woodruff, the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is preparing a statement, and the staff of the American Embassy have already expressed profound condolences to the wife, children, and nearest and dearest of the dead man, who was to have returned to the United States within the next few days. [end recording]

### Diplomat Killed by 'Stray Bullet'

*LD0908113993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1124 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—An American diplomat was killed by a stray bullet in Georgia last Friday [as received], ITAR-TASS was told by the Georgian Embassy in Moscow.

According to Georgian diplomats, Fred Woodrough [spelling as received] of the U.S. Embassy's Political Department and his driver were returning to Tbilisi from a tour of the village of Kazbegi and the Georgian military motor way, where he had enjoyed historical monuments and sights. A stray bullet hit him when the car, a Russian-made Niva Rover, was passing the village of Natakhari.

Georgian diplomats said any other details of the accident were unavailable in the Georgian Embassy. Georgia's chief prosecutor Tevdore Ninidze is to investigate the incident, embassy sources said.

### Government Expresses Condolences

*LD0908140293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1345 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By GIA for TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi, 9 Aug—The Government of the Republic of Georgia has expressed condolences to the family and friends of the American diplomat who has been tragically killed, and also to the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Georgia. The republic's general procurator is involving himself directly in the investigation of the tragedy.

### Shevardnadze Addresses Parliament on 'Civil War'

*NC0608141993 Yerevan SNARK in English 1131 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, August 6 (SNARK)—Speaking to the deputies at the yesterday's session of the Georgian parliament Eduard Shevardnadze let deputies know beforehand about the danger of the civil war in Georgia.

There starts the struggle for force, for authority. There are discussions on the government, on the leader of the state. This struggle will cause the hard civil war in the Republic.

According to Shevardnadze, there are a lot of trials Georgia should overcome, chaos and anarchy are expected.

Mr. Shevardnadze is of the opinion that the only way out is the centralization. "My word should be law for everybody", says Shevardnadze.

### Further on Parliament Address

*LD0608154693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Address by Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state and chairman of the Georgian parliament, to an emergency session of the Georgian parliament on 6 August in Tbilisi—live]

[Text] Attention, ladies and gentlemen. I would not like one issue to be left beyond the parliament's attention because if the head of state is to put forward suggestions about the structure of the cabinet of ministers and its personal composition and so on, and if it should be so, then, in my opinion, one important issue must be clarified. We have clarified many things before, and now this issue is still on the agenda. I would not like any issue to be left without attention and not be reckoned with even if it came just from one MP [member of parliament] or a small group of MPs.

Mr. Sigua said it yesterday, and I think it was quite natural that the issue of the responsibility of the head of state is raised when we are making a decision on the government. Long before that there was a letter from Mr. Tsereteli [leader of the National Independence Party] and other groups. I would like parliament to express its view and attitude. There was a demand... [changes thought] I can take responsibility for the failure of a Chokhatauri [in west Georgia] factory. The reason why I am talking about Chokhatauri in particular is that the Gurians [Guria, part of west Georgia where Shevardnadze originally comes from] will not take offense, I hope. There are other issues as well.

I would like parliament to express its view of the demand for my resignation. If you want to ask the head of state to do what they are asking, then a view should be expressed and stated, and it should be put to a vote, if possible. If it is not necessary, we should vote on it anyway so that there is perfect clarity about this issue. What I mean is that our entire population—the Georgian population—is listening to this session today. They should know who they entrust with this highest responsibility, I mean the issues suggested here today. I am talking about the resignation of the head of state and the chairman of the parliament.

### Parliament Makes Shevardnadze 'Temporary Prime Minister'

*LD0608165093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1650 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi August 6 TASS—Georgian state head Eduard Shevardnadze will become temporary prime minister due to the resignation of the republican cabinet of ministers, under today's decision of the parliament.

The latter also instructed the state head to put forward the new composition of the supreme executive power and its structure within two weeks.

Before the parliament decision, Eduard Shevardnadze made a brief statement on his vision of the current situation in the republic and a possible way out.

In his words, the situation in Georgia is catastrophic, and it requires the introduction of emergency regime in all spheres. The state head called for the soonest signing of a treaty with Russia on equal and mutually beneficial conditions. He said the state sector of the economy should be preserved to act on principles of market economy.

Shevardnadze said the restoration of economic relations with states, Georgia cooperated with in many branches for decades, is vitally important.

### Further on Parliament Resolution

*LD0608190293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1802 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Today at the emergency sitting of the Georgian parliament, Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua made a statement about the resignation of the cabinet of ministers. The cabinet of ministers made this decision late last night after the parliament had concluded its emergency session.

Eduard Shevardnadze, the chairman of the parliament and head of state, acknowledged this fact as a serious attitude of the cabinet of ministers to state affairs.

The Georgian parliament passed a resolution on the statement by cabinet of ministers.

The Georgian parliament resolves: The statement of the Georgian cabinet of ministers on its resignation shall be accepted. Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, shall be entrusted to carry out the duties of prime minister of the Georgian Republic pending the establishment of a new cabinet of ministers.

[Signed] Vakhtang Rcheulishvili, deputy speaker of the Georgian parliament
[Dated] Tbilisi, 6 August 1993

### Turkey's Ciller Congratulates Shevardnadze

*LD0708100293 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 2030 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] The chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, Eduard Shevardnadze, received a message from Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, who acknowledges congratulations in connection with his election as the prime minister.

The message also says that relations with neighboring Georgia are considered very important in the foreign policy of Turkey, and it is in the interests of Turkey that Georgia reaches considerable success in social, political, and economic spheres on its way to the revival.

The message says: "I believe that the peaceful policy carried out together by Turkey and Georgia will contribute to the tackling of the peace process, not only in the Caucasus but also in the Black Sea region."

### Shevardnadze Delivers Speech After Parliament Session

*LD0608222193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 6 Aug 93*

["Excerpt" of speech by Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian State Council, after the Georgian parliament session in Tbilisi on 6 August—recorded]

[Text] Everything must be started, every organization, every system, every workshop and, as it is usually said, every machine. If we fail to do that, we will have to assume that we will have a similar budget next year. There is no miracle worker. Neither Shevardnadze is able to perform a miracle nor anyone whom you can bring here from any country. No one will work a miracle unless everyone works. This is the major national task. Everyone should work and try his best to save the state.

Brigandage and banditry—when I mention an emergency regime, I do not know how to call it, and it is still a random phrase. This is what I mean: first, when a war ends—and we are somehow on the way to the end of the war, although we have not come to it yet and we still have a long way to go—when a war ends, what begins in every country is impunity, lack of discipline, violence, and so on.

Mr. Kote Gabashvili [Tbilisi mayor] spoke about it at the meeting of the cabinet of ministers and he will probably tell you about it also today, tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow. It is impossible to know what is happening in the capital city and in the provinces. Although we do not know everything. There are people from the provinces here; they know it. The first thing we are supposed to do is establish order and fight crime with all severity within the limits of law, and if the law is not sufficient, we shall create a new law, and I request your support in this.

The first thing we must do is take care of all towns and rayons. Where it is necessary, new governors should be appointed. Let us retain them where it is necessary and tell them that they are the figures needed by the rayon. Here the deputies' opinion is decisive. We have to take care of rayons, towns, and villages. We must do all we can. I cannot say that we will witness a miracle. I suppose my position on this should not evoke arguments. I will try to make my ideas mentioned yesterday more concrete by 9 August.

Although I do not want personal feelings to intrude into my speeches and reasoning, I would like to say that as a politician, I made a mistake when I returned to my motherland. No politician, more or less known than me, would make such a mistake, but as a Georgian, as a man brought up in this country, I did what I had to do. Another thing is that I probably failed to justify hopes and could have made a lot of mistakes. This will be judged by the parliament and the people.

I say again, I know how to submit my resignation for you to vote on it. Rather, whether you vote on it or not, I can still resign, but I have not done this. I said that you could discuss the fact that Mr. Tengiz Kitovani [former defense minister] and others said that I should resign. I did not say that I would resign today. When I am sure that my resources have been exhausted and I can do nothing more, I will certainly tell you myself: let me go, and I will quit, and no one will be able to stop me.

I am now again moving against the stream. I know that everything that the people are waiting for can neither be done in 10 days nor in a year, but we should try, anyway, all the people, the whole country should try to escape this situation and rescue the country. We should give the people a chance to breathe easier. This is the point at the moment, and I cannot evade this responsibility.

Deportation from Gagra. I asked appropriate bodies to make the data more precise, and I had a meeting with the control commission, a quite respectable one. My first request was to give me exact facts urgently. They promised me today or tomorrow. The first thing I asked them was to secure the return of refugees. I told them point blank: if you succeed in it, if you make serious steps in this direction, if the population returns safely to Gagra, then you can consider that the dirty trick of 3 September, and I cannot name what happened on 14 May, will be forgotten by the people. Let us see what will come out of this. I will get facts tomorrow, or the day after tomorrow at the latest.

I had to make such a statement before you decided what to entrust the head of state with.

Now, as for what Mr. Kupreishvili said, it can be discussed in the future, but I do not think that the parliament has to discuss it today because my idea is different. An individual can be worthless. An individual can be replaced. Someone else can be elected chairman of the parliament and head of state, but at this stage, before having decided on the issue of a constitution, I regard this institute as meeting the requirements of the present stage. I am ready to participate in this discussion, but not today because we have no time for this.

Thank you.

## Sigua Details Reasons Behind Government Resignation

*LD0608132393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1306 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov and the GEORGIAN INFORMATION AGENCY]

[text] Tbilisi, 6 Aug—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Georgia, Tengiz Sigua, announced his government's resignation today at an emergency sitting of parliament. Over the last two weeks, a group of parliamentary deputies representing six of the most influential factions in parliament demanded the immediate resignation of the prime minister and his cabinet.

The reason for this was the opinion among the deputies that the government should bear responsibility for the extreme economic crisis, as a result of which hundreds of enterprises are standing idle and more than 90 percent of the population is below the poverty line and going hungry.

Sigua, a metallurgical specialist, led the government under Zviad Gamsakhurdia's leadership after Georgian independence, but was removed from his post in the summer of 1991 and went over to the opposition. Following Gamsakhurdia's overthrow, Sigua was once again appointed acting head of the Georgian temporary government, and following free elections in October last year he was confirmed as head of the cabinet by the republic's parliament, at Eduard Shevardnadze's recommendation.

Commenting on the resignation of the cabinet of ministers of Georgia, head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, who spoke at the sitting, announced that "this step was adopted by the government to avoid a deepening of the confrontation between the executive and legislative powers."

### Shevardnadze Options Viewed

*MK0708095893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 3*

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Cabinet Resigns. The Going Gets Tougher for Shevardnadze"]

[Excerpts] During its unscheduled session on 5 August, the Georgian parliament blocked, as it did two weeks ago, a draft budget for April through December drawn up and presented by the Cabinet, thereby expressing yet another no-confidence vote in the government. [passage omitted]

Representatives of six parliamentary factions that included the most influential national-democrats in parliament insisted on the cabinet's resignation. The other deputies think that the government bears the responsibility, but cannot be made a scapegoat for the crisis Georgia is going through. [passage omitted]

Addressing parliament was former Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani, who has been in the spotlight of late, first through his discord with Shevardnadze; and secondly through his part as an ordinary soldier in the fighting in Abkhazia; and finally, through his frequent trips to west Georgia and contacts with Vakhtang Kobaliya, a Zviadist [Gamsakhurdia] movement leader there. Kitovani stated that if one is to raise the question of confidence in the government, one should simultaneously raise the question of confidence in the man behind everything, who holds absolute power—Shevardnadze. Tengiz Kitovani gave a brief exclusive interview for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA. "My rumored contacts with antigovernment forces in west Georgia are fabrications by corrupt politicians interested in fanning passions and further destabilization. I did meet on many occasions with Kobaliya, and I even believe that his grouping should be given the official status of an army subdivision as part of Georgia's armed forces. But nonexistent details should not be read into the situation." Responding to a question on his differences with Shevardnadze, Kitovani stated: "We do have differences that mainly concern the future system for Georgia. I believe it is necessary to create federal lands in Georgia and to scrap all the autonomies." Kitovani also said he was planning to leave for Abkhazia soon. [passage omitted]

Analyzing the situation at the top, one can say today that the state power in the country is in a powerful crisis. This is attributable to the war in Abkhazia and a lack of time to really put into effect any reforms. A lack of serious experience in the overwhelming majority of politicians now in power is playing a decisive role. As for the realistic programs proposed by Shevardnadze, which can bring the country out of crisis, they are too innovative and flexible to be accepted by today's Georgia. The diplomatic policy of concessions and compromises represented today by the head of state is perceived as a capitulatory line by local political circles who are bogged down in corruption and power struggles. In these conditions, the only road left to Shevardnadze to save the situation is to move to a policy of dictatorship—to make his power absolute, create a rigid machinery of subordination to the head of state, to revive justice and give it disciplinary functions, to toughen the system of punishments, and to disarm all the armed formations with the aid of the police and the army.

To all appearances, something is going to happen in Georgia soon that will determine its further development. [passage omitted]

### Russian Military Men Attacked by Bandits

*NC0608142593 Yerevan SNARK in English 1131 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, August 6 (SNARK)—Current bandit action against the Russian military men took place in Georgia.

About 30 armed men dressed in military and civil dress, attacked the "Ural" car which belongs to the group of the Russian military forces in Transcaucasia.

As a result of the incident Colonel Nikolay Belokon and Major Serge Novikov were wounded. There were 6 military men and a woman in the car but they were not victimized.

Bandits captured arms of the Russian military men and a car.

### Bilateral Talks With Russian Delegation Resume

*LD0708173393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi August 7 TASS—The Russian and Georgian delegations resumed talks in Tbilisi on Saturday on ways to normalise relations between Russia and Georgia.

The Russian delegation is being led by ambassador at large Feliks Kovalev. Well informed sources in Tbilisi believe the talks may develop in two directions. The sides may begin the fifth round of bilateral talks to agree the draft agreement on inter-state relations and bilateral agreements on political, economic, military and other forms of interaction. Or they may sign these documents without holding additional consultations to agree numerous minor amendments to these documents.

### No Decisions Passed at Meeting on Abkhaz Settlement

*LD0808191393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1805 GMT 8 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchyogoleva]

[Text] Sochi August 8 TASS—The third meeting of the Joint Commission on the settlement in Abkhazia has

ended here. The commission adopted an address to the world community calling for humanitarian aid to the multiethnic Abkhazian population that suffered from the conflict.

However, the meeting has not passed any decisions on fundamental military questions as the Georgian delegation did not include military experts authorised to take such decisions.

In addition, the Georgian side has failed to supply full information on the deployment and numerical strength of its military units and maps of minefields.

It has been decided to resume the debating of these matters at a meeting of the Joint Commission on August 10 planned, to be held in Gudauta. The main subject of the meeting will be the observance of the schedule for the demilitarisation of the zone of the conflict by the sides. Members of the commission intend to discuss all other matters after the decision on the fundamental problem is made.

### Abkhaz Body Appeals for Aid

*LD0908101593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchogoleva]

[Text] Sochi August 9 TASS— The joint commission for the settlement in Abkhazia has appealed to the world community to send humanitarian aid supplies to Abkhazia's multinational population affected by the conflict. The text of the appeal adopted by the joint commission at its Sunday meeting in Sochi was circulated by the press service of the Russian committee for emergencies.

The appeal says: "It will soon be a year since the beginning of an armed conflict on the territory of Abkhazia, which has entailed a great amount of human losses. Tens of thousands of peaceful civilians have been left without shelter and without means of subsistance. A long-awaited agreement on ceasefire in Abkhazia and the mechanism of monitoring compliance with the agreement was signed on July 27. For the first time since bloodshed began on this much suffering land, practical steps were taken to establish peace. The withdrawal of armed formations and heavy weapons has begun in the conflict zone. The people of Abkhazia are awaiting your support", the appeal says.

### Commission's Appeal Noted

*LD0908102793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0959 GMT 9 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Irina Shchogoleva and Sergey Zharkov]

[Text] Sochi-Moscow August 9 TASS—Georgian and Abkhazian sources reported ongoing fighting near the Apyanda height in the Shroma area of the Gumista River front in the past 24 hours. The press centre of the Georgian troops deployed in Abkhazia said the Abkhazians repeatedly shelled the Georgian positions near the height, using tank guns and automatic rifles.

The press service of the Supreme Soviet of Abkhazia sees the developments in a different light. Its report says that Georgian troops fired howitzers at Abkhazian positions at 9.45 on Sunday from the residential area in Odishi, the fire was then resumed at 11.40 and at 13.40 the Apyanda height was shot on first from an armoured personnel vehicle, with intensive machine-gun fire to follow. Two Abkhazians were killed, as reported by Abkhazia's Defence Ministry. According to the same source, Georgians fired machine-guns in the area of upper Esheri last night.

On the eastern front, sporadic skirmishes occurred in the past 24 hours. Apart from this, the warring sides have been abiding by the ceasefire agreement, Abkhazia's Defence Ministry reported.

On Monday morning, a group from the Russian state committee for emergencies left Sochi for Gagra to verify reports about violations of the rights of Georgian civilians on a territory controlled by Abkhazian forces. The trip is being undertaken on the initiative of the Russian committee for emergencies and at a request from Georgian delegation members who took part in a session of the joint commission in Sochi on Sunday.

The joint commission is scheduled to hold its next meeting in Gudauta on August 10 to consider military questions.

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### Abkhazia Accuses Georgia of Cease-Fire Breach

*LD0608163293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1620 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow August 6 TASS—The Parliament Presidium of Georgia's breakaway of Abkhazia released on Friday [6 August] a statement saying that "on an order from Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, announced at a session of the Georgian Parliament on August 5, about a thousand "Mkhedrioni" troop reinforcements were additionally brought into Abkhazia today".

The Abkhazian Parliament Presidium views these actions as a "gross violation" of the cease-fire agreement which states that "no troops or other armed formations may to be additionally sent to the conflict zone in Abkhazia".

The statement calls upon "representatives of the Russian side and the United Nations to denounce these actions".

### Tbilisi Denies Accusations

*LD0708103593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0956 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 7 Aug—Twenty-four hours after the Abkhaz side accused Georgia of violating the cease-fire agreement, official Tbilisi today issued its version of the introduction into Abkhazia of armed "Mkhedrioni" formations.

Revaz Egadze, press secretary of the head of the Georgian state, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "Mkhedrioni" had replaced "the "overworked personnel" of the military units in Abkhazia that had been redeployed into Eastern Georgia. He claimed that the Abkhaz side had been informed beforehand of this action.

### Situation 'Comparatively Calm'; Withdrawal Begins

*LD0708115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1119 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi August 7 TASS—According to the press service of the Abkhazian Parliament, the situation was comparatively calm there during the past 24 hours. Shooting with the use of fire arms and machine-guns was registered only at the Shroma section of the front, and the intensive fire with the use of grenade launchers and artillery pieces was registered today in the morning near the hills of Apyanda, Akhbuk and Yashtukha Rkhu.

According to the information of an Abkhazian source, the disengagement of artillery pieces and their withdrawal to the indicated positions was to be started today at 10.00 a.m., in conformity with the schedule approved by the joint commission on the settlement in Abkhazia.

### Press Center Reports Fighting in Abkhazia

*LD0708183793 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] An hour ago, at 2100 hours, our correspondent spoke by telephone with Mr. Kakha Dzagania of the press center of the Georgian Armed Forces in Abkhazia, who said that Abkhaz combatants had launched an attack on height 920 in the Shroma-Akhalsheni direction [words indistinct], which is controlled by the Georgian side. The incident was recorded by observers. The attack was repulsed by Georgian fighters. Positional fighting is now going on along the whole interval of the frontline in Shroma and Akhalsheni.

In the village of Shroma today, Abkhaz extremists burned down 80 houses belonging to Georgians.

### Interior Troops Control Senaki; Mortar Attacks Continue

*LD0708192093 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1526 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] [no dateline as received] The Senaki administration reported on 7 August that the town was controlled by troops of the Georgian Interior Ministry. The Second Senaki Battalion, which consists of Loti Kobalia's military units has left the town for its outskirts.

However, there are forces that are trying to destabilize the situation. They initiated a mortar attack on the town in which one of the shells landed in the immediate proximity of a Georgian Interior Ministry troop's picket and another one exploded in the garden of a house belonging to a civilian. Fortunately, there were no casualties.

The population of Senaki is suffering from a shortage of food, especially bread.

### Abkhazia States Demands Following Cease-Fire

*MK0708105793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Aug 93 p 3*

[Letter to the editor from the press service of Abkhazia's representative to the Russian Federation, under "Letter to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA" rubric: "Cease-Fire in Abkhazia Is Not Yet All. Gudauta Insists Its Demands Be Met."]

[Text] The agreement signed on 27 July in Sochi with Russia's mediation between Georgia and Abkhazia has brought with it the long-awaited lull on the fronts where war has been going on for almost a year now. Generally the agreement is holding so far, although for both sides it is apparently difficult to finally extinguish the emotive inertia of the recent bitter confrontation; therefore the "peaceful" quiet is occasionally broken by artillery and machinegun exchanges, which, however, stop just as suddenly.

The sides have been moving toward the agreement along different paths. Whereas Georgian representatives were anxious to sign a cease-fire agreement, the Abkhaz leadership has repeatedly stated that it will sign only a document guaranteeing an end to the war. Russia, as an intermediary, also confirmed its aspiration to a speedy settlement of the conflict. This corresponds to its long-term interests in the region, and therefore Russian diplomacy has displayed considerable activity in order to bring the negotiations to fruition.

Under these conditions, the Abkhaz leadership agreed to sign. It was a difficult and responsible decision. Abkhazia was experiencing a wave of military success. As a result of the July offensive operation on the Gumista front, a strategic bridgehead was seized. A real opportunity emerged to free the Abkhazian republic's capital of Sukhumi from Georgian troops. Furthermore, everyone remembers the sad fate of the Moscow agreements of 3 September 1992, which were not fulfilled by the Georgian side.

Speaking on national radio, the chairman of the Abkhaz Supreme Soviet stated: "Apparently E. Shevardnadze wants to distance himself from the document, considering the complicated situation in Georgia itself, but it was he himself who sanctioned its signature by V. Goguadze, and should its terms be violated, Shervardnadze will be responsible. Of course, I have some doubts that the Georgian leadership will fulfill the agreement, but we have no right to ignore the possibility of a peaceful settlement. If, however, the provisions of the agreement are violated, we have another option, which at present we would like to avoid. This also relates to the issue of Sukhumi. We have never sought to resolve problems by force, but were confronted with the necessity to defend ourselves because our people were being exterminated."

Therefore the decision to sign the Sochi agreement is evidence of the Abkhaz republic's sincere wish to stop the bloodshed and start a peace process toward a full settlement, especially in view of the fact that the Sochi agreement provides all grounds for that if it is strictly observed by all the sides.

The Abkhaz side attaches special importance to the speediest possible implementation of Articles 6 and 8 of the agreement. Article 6, as is known, provides for the withdrawal from Abkhazia'a territory of armed formations of the Republic of Georgia, which is to be completed within 10 to 15 days. This point was originally envisioned under the 3 September 1992 Moscow agreement, but it was not fulfilled by the Georgian side, the result of which was continuation of the bloodshed.

The arguments by the opposing side to the effect that only local residents are fighting as part of its forces, which allegedly have nowhere to go, Gudauta regards as irrelevant, insisting that all who have fought in Abkhazia under the Georgian flag must leave the republic's territory. At the same time, in the future, after disarmament, this does not preclude the possibility and the right of Abkhazia's Georgian residents to return to their homes—naturally, only those who were not involved in war crimes, murders, looting, and marauding.

Likewise, the Abkhaz leadership attaches much importance to the implementation of Article 8 of the agreement providing for the creation of conditions for the resumption of activity by the Abkhaz republic's legitimate bodies of power. This point was also included in the Moscow agreement and was also blocked by the Georgian side. For almost a year, the Abkhaz Republic's legitimate bodies of power as represented by its legally elected Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers had to stay in Gudauta, and part of the republic's territory is to this day controlled by the Georgian administration. The so-called "Abkhaz Autonomous Republic Council of Ministers" created in this zone has no constitutional-legal foundation, and the intention of the Georgian side to pass it off as a legitimate structure of power is yet another attempt to impose an occupation regime on Abkhazia. The so-called "Abkhaz Autonomous Republic Council of Ministers" will have no place in the process of a peace settlement, which can be effective only on condition that the Republic of Abkhazia Supreme Soviet regains control over the republic's entire territory.

[Signed] Press Service of the plenipotentiary representative of the Republic of Abkhazia to the Russian Federation

### Explosion on Gas Pipeline Reported

*NC0608143793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1131 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Tbilisi, August 6 (SNARK)—Last night at 3 A.M. in the suburbs of the Vakhtangety village, at the border with Azerbaijan the gas pipe-line was currently exploded.

Otar Merabishvili, "Gruztransgas" chief dispatcher, told SNARK that it would take two or three days to restore the exploded part of the line.

According to the reports received from Yerevan, the oil price is 28-35 thousand per 20 liters, a kg of gas costs 1500-1600 roubles. The flats are still without electricity. Many enterprises do not work.

### Ajarian Government Sends Appeal to Tbilisi

*AU0608171793 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 30 Jul 93 p 3*

[Appeal from the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria to the Republic of Georgia Parliament, Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Parliament and head of state, delivered in Batumi on 24 July]

[Text] The recognition of our responsibility before the Georgian nation and to future generations and our civic duty dictates that we address you at this very difficult

moment in our country's history, when the territorial integrity of Georgia and the preservation of its independence are threatened with danger.

The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria expresses its serious anxiety about the political, social, and moral crisis and chaos that have been created in Georgia. The fratricidal war, the collapse of national unity, the ineffectiveness of the authorities and the law, the individual's lack of protection, and the tyranny of bandit groups are causing moral stress in society. At the same time, irreparable damage is being done to the national gene pool and to a significant part of the young generation in whose consciousness the psychology of violence and anarchy is being formed.

The most grave situation, on the one hand is a consequence of the political process that developed as a result of the lightening-fast collapse of the huge empire, and on the other was conditioned by internal reasons that should have been foreseen earlier. True, the forces that came to power in Georgia were motivated by a striving toward patriotic ideals but they had neither a political and economic platform that was profoundly thought-out and calculated through to the end nor experience of state management.

The situation was made more complicated by the circumstance that, instead of a purposeful reformation of old structures and their replacement by new ones, the institutions of power and the administration immediately removed experienced specialists, including worthy persons and state and public figures, which has left a negative mark on all branches of the national economy and administration.

Proceeding from populist and subjective thinking and ignoring existing realities, political and economic ties were severed. Economic relations, which had been formed over centuries with the republics that made up the former Soviet Union, chiefly Russia, were indiscriminately disrupted and it was practically impossible to change them and create a new platform in such a short period of time, especially since the state, being in an embryonic stage, did not have the corresponding potential and internal resources. Virtual economic self-isolation has had destructive consequences, and has been compounded by the financial self-blockade caused by the introduction of a new monetary unit that was doomed in advance and not supported by anything.

We believe that today it is first necessary to mobilize all our potentials so as to emerge from this most serious situation and to strengthen state discipline and the rule of law.

Economic ties must be restored as quickly as possible with the republics of the former Soviet Union, first and foremost Russia, and, at the same time, new economic and commercial relations must be established with other countries; broad scope must be given to the regions, enterprises, and private individuals in order to revive the economy and prepare it for inclusion in the process of international integration.

Equal good-neighborly relations with all countries, particularly Russia, with whom we have been deeply integrated over a long period of time in the spheres of the economy, culture, and human relations, should form the principle direction of the foreign policy of independent Georgia.

Those forces that are propagating the implementation of an extremely radical policy toward Russia should delve more deeply into the current processes taking place in the republics of the former Soviet Union, particularly in the Russian Federation, and they should realize that they, willingly or not, are stimulating reactionary forces and, at the same time, are endangering, above all, Georgian statehood itself.

In order to prevent the loss of the integrity and state independence of Georgia, we should immediately sign a treaty with the Russian Federation under mutually beneficial conditions, proceeding first and foremost from Georgia's interests.

In order to normalize relations with Russia, we have to use effectively not only official channels but also national diplomacy and creative and cultural contacts and links between the intelligentsia and business circles.

The unfounded demands for the rapid and unconditional removal from Georgia of the Group of Russian Forces in the Transcaucasus are devoid of political realism. Having deeply analyzed the whole range of implications accompanying the withdrawal process, we are convinced that its artificial acceleration could result in extremely serious complications. It should be implemented stage by stage in a form and time period acceptable to both states.

The primary task is to give the Russian Federation military subunits in Georgia a status that is acceptable to both sides and to ensure a civilized attitude toward them. During their stay here, these forces should be used to protect the republic's borders and a regular well-trained national army should be created on their basis.

We have been and remain categorically opposed to the resolution of problems by force, particularly within the country. All remaining problems must be put aside, an immediate end must be put to the bloodshed in Abkhazia, and all disputes must be resolved at the negotiating table, taking into account the interests of both peoples.

In order to halt the escalation of the conflict in Abkhazia, we have to achieve an immediate cease-fire. At the first stage, a joint commission should be created with the participation of the Georgian, Abkhazian, and Russian sides that, willingly or not, have found themselves drawn into the conflict. For its part, Ajaria is ready to take an

active part both in the political regulation of the problem in Abkhazia and in defusing tension in other regions of the republic.

As a result of the ambiguous attitude of certain political forces toward these problems, one undoubtedly finds people who do not approve of our approach in the same way that they, in their time, did not share the fundamental position of the Ajarian leadership and its negative attitude to the introduction of troops into Abkhazia, which, to all intents and purposes, has greatly endangered the preservation of state integrity and has resulted in numerous victims and the destruction of towns.

The question arises: Who is responsible before the people for the thousands of innocent people who have perished, the majority of whom are young, for the tens of thousands of families who have become refugees in their own homeland, not to mention the countless dishonored wounded and disfigured persons and the destroyed towns?

We resolutely state that whoever favors a different policy and shelters behind loudly proclaimed patriotic slogans is, consciously or unconsciously, contributing to the destruction of Georgia.

At the same time, it should be pointed out that unfortunately, during the elaboration and implementation of the state's domestic and foreign policy, the position and interests of separate regions and their populations are not always taken into account, whereas it is precisely the combination of the interests of the regions that forms the basis for our integrity and the creation of a single effective mechanism.

We cannot understand why this circumstance was not taken into account during preparation of the treaty on questions of relations between the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Turkey, particularly as the negotiations directly concerned the Ajarian Autonomous Republic. It was also not taken into account that the greatest part of the state border is on Ajarian territory.

It is precisely this kind of attitude that makes the situation more acute and is grist for the mill of those forces for whom the integrity of Georgia is unsuitable.

Proceeding from this, one of the definite conditions that we set is that, as a rule, representatives of the autonomous republics and those regions that the subject of the negotiations directly concerns should always participate in the adoption of common decisions in the most important negotiations at state level.

The general Georgian cause will always be victorious when an attentive and objective attitude is guaranteed toward the regions. At the same time, we note with the greatest satisfaction that the Georgian Parliament, having manifested a truly state approach, in spite of the active attempts of certain forces, has not allowed the ground to be prepared for a conflict to arise in Ajaria.

The traditional wisdom of the inhabitantsof Ajaria is well known, as is their imperturbability and devotion to their motherland. They have gone through difficult periods of history and the present complex period with foresight and wisdom. Thus, Ajaria has once more deserved the right to call upon the whole of Georgia, natives from all corners of it, to stand shoulder to shoulder, to overcome discord and enmity, and to work hard for the construction of a truly free and democratic Georgia and for its unity.

We are opposed to a proud, bold, and philanthropic people, one that has made a weighty contribution to the treasure house of world culture, having to starve and be infringed upon politically, economically, and socially on account of the inertia of individual bodies of power, narrow party interests, and the ambition of certain individuals.

Today, we have once again been presented with the chance to become a fully fledged member of the modern civilized world. History and future generations will not forgive us if we miss such an opportunity.

It will be no exaggeration to say that this opinion is shared by the whole of Georgia, by each genuine patriot and citizen. We express our deep faith that this view will be supported by the republic's Parliament and the Georgian head of state.

[Signed] The Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Autonomous Republic of Ajaria
[Dated] Batumi, 24 July 1993

## Estonia

### Juri Luik Appointed Acting Defense Minister

*LD0608115693 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Prime Minister Mart Laar has signed an order which places the duties of the defense minister temporarily on Minister Juri Luik [minister without portfolio, in charge of talks with Russia], until a new defense minister is appointed. The ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY was informed of this by the government's press service.

### Ministries' Forces To Patrol Paldiski Naval Base

*LD0708182693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1120 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[Text] Tallinn, 7 Aug—From 10 August, the territory of the Russian naval base in the town of Paldiski will be patrolled only by joint forces of Estonia's Ministries of Internal Affairs and Defense.

Paldiski is a major deep-water port on the Baltic Sea; the nuclear reactors of the training center of Russia's nuclear submarine fleet are located there.

The instruction relating to Paldiski was adopted at a closed sitting of the Estonian Government on Friday, 5 August. The act, signed by Prime Minister Mart Laar, brings to an end the activities of the militia section of the Russian Interior Ministry, which is garrisoned there. The same document instructs the head of the Paldiski Russian military garrison to end military patrols of the city streets.

In addition, Estonia's Defense Ministry is instructed to accept from the Russian military Paldiski's northern and southern ports, as well as a number of on-shore facilities, by 10 August.

### Velliste Notes FRG Support for Russian Pullout

*LD0708091293 Berlin ADN in German 0816 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Tallinn (ADN)—According to Estonian Foreign Minister Trivimi Velliste, the Federal Republic will continue to support Estonia in its demand for a rapid withdrawal of Russian troops from the country. "This subject will undoubtedly play a role in the upcoming visit by German Foreign Minister Kinkel," the Estonian foreign minister said in an ADN interview today in Tallinn.

Kinkel is expected on a one-day visit to Tallinn on Monday [9 August]. [passage omitted]

Velliste said the Kremlin leadership will take into account Germany's stance in connection with the return of the Russian units. "After all, the greatest economic help for Russia comes from the Federal Republic," the minister said. There are still around 5,000 soldiers on Estonian territory. [passage omitted]

### Official Comments on Opening of Embassy in Kiev

*LD0608164193 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0900 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Excerpts] Estonia will be opening a new embassy next week, this time in Ukraine. Toivo Klaar, head of the Foreign Ministry's Political Department, gave an interview to Estonian radio on this occasion.

[Begin recording] [Klaar] Ukraine is of course a very important country for us, especially because Ukraine can help us in our relations with Russia, as we have similar interests. Ukraine, like us, does not want Russia to assume any kind of special role in this part of Europe, and, as equal countries, we should also have equal rights.

[Unidentified correspondent] So far, of the former USSR republics, we have only had an embassy in Russia, in Moscow—I have of course excluded the Baltic countries—and now, we will have one in Ukraine.

[Klaar] Once we are up to it, we may also be represented in Central Asia, but for the time being, say, for the next couple of years, this is not likely to happen. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Andrey Birov will become the charge d'affairs in Kiev. He has been a minister-counsellor at our embassy in Moscow until now. No firm decision has been made yet about the ambassador. [passage omitted]

### New Television Stations Begin Broadcasting

*LD0308120493 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 2 Aug 93*

[Text] This weekend Estonian television viewers had a reason to switch their sets to the channels that previously [word indistinct] Russian television programs. A new commercial company, (EVTV), began its broadcasts on 1 August, and another television company, (?Reklamatelevision), or Advertising Television, also started work as an independent station. A third news station that belongs to the (?Sotka) joint stock company, regardless of its contract for using the former St. Petersburg channel, did not start transmitting this weekend for technical reasons.

Andras Steen, a member of (EVTV's) board, said the idea to found a television company was born this spring when bids were invited for renting the channels previously held by two Russian television stations. The Swedish television concern [words indistinct] and the two companies concluded a cooperation agreement. The first day of broadcasting began with an opening ceremony and short news, followed by Andras Steen's talk

show. Members of the Estonian Government and parliament, prominent personalities, diplomats, businessmen and newspaper publishers had been invited to participate in the live program.

(EVTV) is going to broadcast three hours a day in August. Future plans include prolonging (?the day) by an hour every month. (EVTV's) license gives it the right to run advertising for seven percent of the time, or 4.3 minutes per hour. According to the station's (?acting) manager, this time limit makes it impossible to run a commercial television station.

## Latvia

### President Interviewed on Ties With Russia

*PM0608164193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 93 p 7*

[Interview with President Guntis Ulmanis by Karen Markaryan; place and date not given: "New Man Ulmanis Will Not Upset the Applecart. Guntis Ulmanis, Latvia's First Post-War President, Gives His First Interview to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Ulmanis] The entire legacy of the USSR still appears to be a "blank spot" in many respects, but I cannot and do not want to accuse the Russian people. There are the Lettish people, there are the Russian people. In principle there is nothing for them to share out. All these "blank spots" are a legacy of the Soviet ideology, which we are now trying to eliminate so we can return somehow to a normal, civilized life. The Russians' gene pool and best minds were destroyed in the USSR. At the same time thousands of Letts were destroyed. The sooner people realize that it is not peoples who are to blame for this but the system, the apparatus, and the ideology, the better. The communist system was foisted on Russia. If you grasp that, it is easier to resolve all misunderstandings.

There is now talk of human rights violations in Latvia, but I do not think that this is the case. I do not want even to make comparisons with other countries; comparisons are the source of nothing but trouble. Two canons are important to me, and I intend to follow them: the interests of my people and the generally recognized norms enshrining human rights.

Today it is difficult for me to understand that Russia is trying to link these human rights with very different questions—the presence of occupation forces in another country. So I regard it as my immediate task to resume talks with Russia and, of course, address the question of withdrawing the troops. You know, if we are violating human rights in some respect, let a UN commission come to our country and check things out. It is naive to think that 1.5 million Letts are threatening the 160 million-strong Russian people. I believe that all questions should be resolved by political means while taking into account the small nation's interests.

I absolutely foresee a very grave question of citizenship. This problem must be resolved in the immediate future. In my view, the law must be based on a detailed economic and humanitarian calculation for the survival of the people. Latvia cannot adopt a citizenship law threatening the survival of the Letts. At the same time I am concerned about the problems of all the peoples living in Latvia. But we and your readers must realize that if a people are close to disappearance, what people would not resist this fate? And can you reproach this small dying people for not dying in the right way, not dying quietly and calmly? But I want to stress that the Declaration of Human Rights is sacrosanct.

If Russia is the successor of the USSR, it must realize that many of its fellow citizens were fooled into going to Latvia. It is as a result of this that the question of the survival of the Lettish people has arisen. Only around 40 percent of the people living in Riga today are Letts. One question: How would Russians behave if there were a similar situation in St. Petersburg?

In this connection I would like to note that, if many Russians do not become Latvian citizens, this should in no way hamper their lives. They should be provided with work, housing, and everything that free people need in a free country, but we very often link the question of citizenship with the question of human rights.

[Markaryan] But that problem is a component of those rights!

[Ulmanis] It is not a component. There are rules for acquiring citizenship. For instance, when you go to live in America there are certain rules for obtaining citizenship.

[Markaryan] But the situation in Latvia is totally unlike America. Maybe this is why there is quite a lot of strain in Russian-Latvian relations.

[Ulmanis] This greatly bothers me. Out of all foreign policy issues, this is the one I am intending to devote most attention to. It should be emphasized that at present there are quite a lot of Letts living in Russia, up to 200,000, according to various estimates. There are no precise statistics here, because people were persecuted for many years after the revolution, they were not allowed their own schools or newspapers, and they were often forced to change their names...

I intend to raise this question at the highest level and, if I have the chance, I intend to travel around Russia in the very near future and visit the places where Lettish ethnic minorities live. What I mean by this is that if the Russians are so persistently concerned about their minorities here, what can they say to us: After all, the Lettish colonies in Russia have no rights at all. And we have neither an army nor the might to stand up for them.

[Markaryan] So in Latvia could there be a repetition of the situation in Estonia with regard to the nonindigenous

population, which instantly became aliens? After all, the exacerbation of interethnic relations benefits no one.

[Ulmanis] It is very hard for me to comment on another state's affairs. The only thing I would like to say is that there is always a need for explanatory work. You know, it is even harder for the Estonians. There are even fewer of them left than us. I think that Russia is exerting overly strong pressure here. If it had not intervened, I think the Estonians and the Russians would themselves have sorted everything out. I will always support the Estonian people. Without internal [as published] support we small peoples simply cannot survive.

[Markaryan] We seem to have straightened out the political aspect of the matter. Now let us move on to the economy. How do you see Latvia's development over the next few years?

[Ulmanis] The president does not deal directly with the economy. But I think it is a bad president who takes no interest in questions of pensions, taxes, and the payment of debts to peasants. I think that the countryside is not only the foundation of the economy, but also primarily the foundation for the preservation of the Lettish way of life (for the sake of greater cogency the president repeated the last remark in Russian as well. In general our conversation took place both in the state language and in the Russian language—K.M.). Our way of life is to preserve the farmsteads. [passage omitted]

### Ulmanis, Russian Envoy Discuss New Talks

*LD0608192793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1700 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Text] Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis today received Russian Ambassador Aleksandr Rannikh at the latter's request. Mr. Ulmanis handed to Aleksandr Rannikh a message addressed to Russian President Boris Yeltsin in appreciation for his congratulations and good wishes on his election as Latvian president. In turn, Mr. Rannikh delivered a letter from Boris Yeltsin, expressing acknowledgement for Mr. Ulmanis' personal involvement in the extradition of Sergey Parfenov and other Russian citizens to serve their sentences in Russia. Mr. Rannikh particularly emphasized that this gesture of goodwill is perceived as readiness to seriously begin work on normalizing Russian-Latvian relations. Now the next round of the curtailed bilateral talks can begin.

For his part, Guntis Ulmanis wanted to ascertain whether Russia is ready to resume such talks, as in Latvia the new delegation has already been formed. Mr. Rannikh replied that in his opinion, it is possible. As Aleksandr Rannikh put it, this process might begin with Guntis Ulmanis receiving the commander in chief of the Russian Northwestern Group of Forces. Replying to the president's question as to how the ambassador currently views relations between Russia and the Baltic countries, Aleksandr Rannikh gave a positive evaluation of the political course of the Lithuanian leaders, with the sole exception of the dissatisfaction at the claims for compensation. In his opinion, relations with Estonia are not so smooth. Estonia has complicated them itself, he said, by raising the issue of Narva. In relations with Latvia, Rannikh does not see any aggravations.

### Non-Citizen Residents Said Joining Russian Army

*LD0708121193 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1100 GMT 7 Aug 93*

[Text] Russian Army units stationed on Latvian territory are taking residents of Latvia into service on a contractual basis, states a high official of the Latvian Ministry of Defense who wishes to remain anonymous. There are no Latvian citizens among the mercenaries, only permanent residents. There are no reports of any Latvians being among the mercenaries. The recruiting of mercenaries is connected with the withdrawal of the Russian Army. As a result of this, there are far fewer soldiers in the units than before.

## Lithuania

### No Agreement at Russian Troop Withdrawal Talks

*LD0608140593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 6 Aug 93*

[Report by Gene Abraitiene]

[Text] Some important news just in from the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE:

Having failed to reach an agreement on the wording for troop withdrawal, Lithuanian and Russian negotiating delegations issued individual statements and then departed. A BNS correspondent was informed of this by Gintaras Jackonis, the press attache of the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow. He noted that Russia continues to accuse Lithuania of failing to submit a new version of an agreement on troop withdrawal. According to Jackonis, this was reiterated today at a briefing at the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Meanwhile, the Lithuanian side maintains that such an accusation is without foundation as no new problems have been raised and only a corrected version of the article on compensation for damages to Lithuania has been submitted.

Tonight the Lithuanian delegation is returning to Vilnius. At 1000 tomorrow a news conference by the head of the delegation, Virgilijus Bulovas, is scheduled in Vilnius.

### Delegation Head Comments

*LD0708094593*

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian at 0700 GMT on 7 August broadcasts a

45-minute live report on the news conference given by Virgilijus Bulovas, head of the Lithuanian delegation for negotiations with Russia.

The news conference is introduced by Vilius Kavaliauskas, who invites Bulovas the rostrum.

Bulovas begins his statement by expressing his satisfaction at the attention paid by the media to the negotiations. He adds:

"From a formal viewpoint we did not achieve any results, but when looked at informally, this return to the initial position with a clearly stated Lithuanian stance, we think has been a certain achievement. Both sides expressed their wishes. I was only a little sad that the other side, represented by Mr. Isakov, has refused to look for ways out. This is not good; we expected to look for a way out.

"Moreover, in unofficial conversations with some officials, they understand that it is essential to find solutions, that this situation is not acceptable to both sides. Unfortunately, however, this was not done by that other side. Maybe there are various reasons, but we did not achieve this.

"What is going to happen? Their side attempted insistently to [word indistinct] that this is new. We do not accept this. Yes, there were some new matters. One thing was new: the issue of compensation was clearly stated." "Maybe their side needs time, and they stated this. We hope that they will give their reply in a few days' time. Since there are possibilities for the attitudes to come closer on some issues it seems, the next meeting will take place shortly in Vilnius. We will endeavor then to bring our stands closer and seek a mutually acceptable solution.

"The problem must be solved. Our relations will continue in the future. I would like to say in conclusion that negotiations on other agreements will continue. We are going to continue our work. Four agreements are envisaged, including a trade agreement. This will not be linked with this agreement on the withdrawal of the army. Thus, there are opportunities to reach an acceptable solution. What kind of solution is difficult to say; it will become clear during our next meeting.

"I can say one thing without revealing any secrets: that the delegation discussed all these results this morning. We worked for two hours. We proposed to the president that, until the Russian side gives a clear reply to our fundamental problems, the meeting with President Yeltsin should not take place. The Russian side must clearly state its opinion on our fundamental problems. They are the damage and on what grounds the Army is being withdrawn. Then it will be possible to decide." After the statement by Bulovas, before journalists start asking questions, an unnamed member of the delegation makes a statement on behalf of the Social Democratic Party on its stand on the negotiations. A statement is also made by Romualdas Ozolas, who criticized the visit to Moscow by Foreign Minister Gylys.

Replying to a question about the next meeting of the delegations, Bulovas states:

"The Russian side did not object and they think that the negotiations should continue. In fact, they asked that their experts be given time for consideration. Since we have just been to Moscow, then the next meeting should of course be held in Vilnius. I cannot say when it will take place. We propose that it is held as soon as possible, at a date acceptable to them."